BUREAU OF EDUCATION, INDIA

SELECTIONS

FROM

EDUCATIONAL RECORDS

PART I

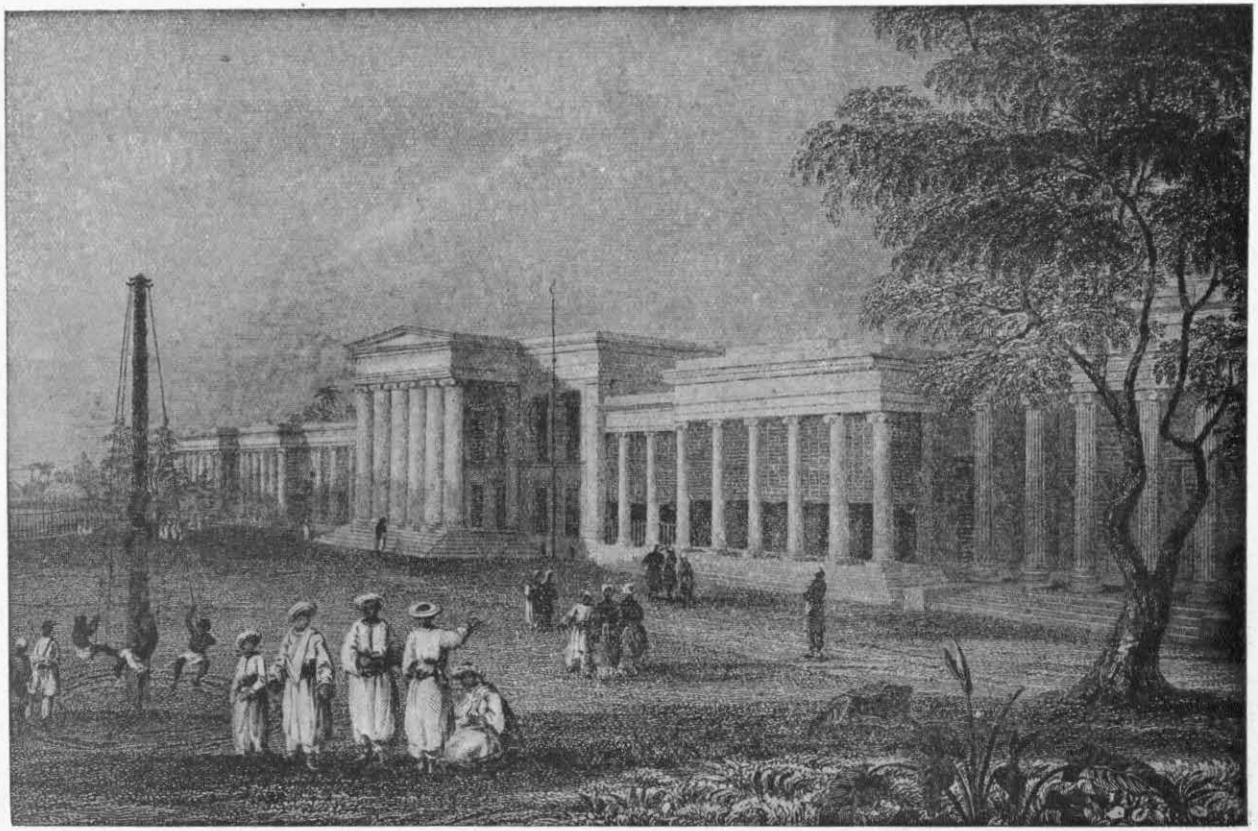
1781-1839

H. SHARP, C.S.I., C.I.E.

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CALCUTTA MADRASSA, 1847.



HINDU COLLEGE, CALCUTTA, 1847.

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H. SHARP, C.S.I., C.I.E.

PREFACE.

THIS introduction may stand as a preface both to the present volume and to the series of those which it is trusted may follow it.

Requests have often reached me for educational documents which I have found it difficult immediately to supply owing to the document in question never having been printed or the volume in which it is contained being out of print. At the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction which met at Delhi in 1917 I enquired if a reprint of important educational records would be useful. The reply was in the affirmative.* The Bureau of Education has since that date been collecting and sifting such records. Other duties and frequent interruptions have prevented me from gathering them together and putting them into proper form. The first volume, with records extending from the earliest times to 1839, is now ready. It has been particularly difficult to prepare ; and it is hoped that succeeding volumes may follow more rapidly.

The early history of education in India is a matter of peculiar interest. The efforts of the missionaries, the growth of a consciousness of responsibility for the instruction of the people (at a time when, in England, this task was hardly regarded as a public duty), the dawning of a recognition of the enormous difficulties involved in such a duty, the polemics which led to the momentous decision to introduce the western system of learning for the middle class—these subjects, linked as they are with the names of striking personalities, present a fascinating field of study. The story has been told by Trevelyan, Syed Mahmud S. Sattianadhan, F. W. Thomas and H. R. James.†

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* *Report of the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction, 1917.* Delhi, 1917 (p. 20).

† C. E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India.* London, 1838.

Syed Mahmood, *A History of Education in India, 1781 to 1893.* Aligarh, 1895.

S. Satthianadhan, *History of Education in the Madras Presidency.* Madras, 1894.

F. W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India.* London, 1891.

H. R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India.* London, 1917.

The present work is not a history of education in India. It is a reprint of documents. These documents are, for the convenience of the reader and with a view to their arrangement, connected by brief narratives. But in no sense are these narratives to be construed as forming a history. The important part consists in the documents themselves. Possibly these may yet assist in guiding some future student in the compilation of a history of this subject more elaborate than those which have yet appeared.

Nor is the present collection the first of its kind. Among earlier collections may be mentioned the following. An Appendix to the Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee of 1832 on the Affairs of the East India Company * contains, in addition to Fisher's Memoir (of which more anon), a number of official papers dealing with early education in India. The Records of the Madras Government edited by Arbuthnot in 1855 † contain a valuable record so far as that Presidency is concerned, as well as records of more general interest. The collection of despatches from the Home Government published in 1870 furnishes documents for the period from 1854 to 1868.‡ Howell also in his works§ has collected a number of official papers. These books, however, are out of print. It is also necessary, in dealing with them, at once to supplement and to exercise selection.

This first volume covers the period from about 1781 to 1839. The documents deal with early private enterprise and the activity, first of individual servants of the East India Company, then of the Company itself; the foundation of institutions, many of which have survived

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* *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, February 14th to July 27th, 1832, I Public.* Printed by order of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, London, 1833. (Appendix I.)

† *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government No. II, Papers relating to Public Instruction, comprising a memorandum of the proceedings of the Madras Government in the Department of Public Instruction with an appendix containing all the more important papers recorded on the subject.* Compiled by A. J. Arbuthnot, Madras, 1855.

‡ *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. LXXVI, A collection of Despatches from the Home Government on the subject of Education in India, 1854 to 1868.* Calcutta, 1870.

§ P. A. Howell, *Education in India, prior to 1854 and in 1870-71, Calcutta, 1872 ; and Note on the state of Education during 1866-67*, Calcutta, 1868.

in some form or other till to-day; the first grant in aid of education and the machinery devised for utilising it; the surveys made with a view to a wide dissemination of knowledge; the transfer of public interest and public funds from the pursuit of the old learning of the east to that of the western literature and science and to the study of the English language. Lord Auckland's minute of 1839 closes not only the controversy between the orientalists and the occidentalists but also a definite period, characterised by its own theories and enterprises—a period of vague but often heroic beginnings, which paved the way for the despatch of 1854 and the gradual realisation of an ordered policy.

The arrangement adopted is topical and chronological. This seemed desirable in order to bring together documents dealing with the same subject but with some regard to the sequence of their production. It does not profess to be perfect, but it is hoped that, on the whole, it will conduce to convenience for the reader. A chronological list of documents and a short index are included. When the series is complete it is proposed to publish a combined list and a combined index. There is also a tabular statement of events in India and in the general world of thought, which may help to locate and illumine the points of progress indicated in the documents.

The records which have contributed most to the volume are those of the Government of India. This is natural, since the object is to avoid detail and to concentrate on the general and the essential. But the record offices of the larger provinces also have been requisitioned and have provided useful material.

The documents themselves occur in four forms. *First*, there are originals. An example of these is document No. 31, which has probably never been copied and on the margin of which are still to be seen the observations of Macaulay written in his own hand. (The observations are reproduced in the print.) *Second*, there are early prints. Examples of these are numerous; among them may be mentioned documents nos. 6, 8, 9, 21, etc. *Third*, there are old hand-written copies of the originals. *Fourth*, there are copies of these or of the

originals made by the record office. All these four, save the first, offer difficulties of readings. Even the prints are not perfect; the first and second prints of Macaulay's Minute contain curious (though unimportant) variations. The third class is, not unnaturally, full of obvious errors—the result of carelessness in copying or of ignorance. One finds 'thing' written for 'think,' 'last' for 'lost', 'owing' for 'owning,' 'conduct' for 'contact,' 'taught' for 'thought, 'exacted' for 'exalted,' 'execute' for 'excuse,' etc. There are also instances of impossible grammar. Such errors have been corrected in the present print. n the other hand, eccentricities of spelling have been preserved; and no attempt has been made, save in the connecting narratives, to render spelling consistent.

A document of particular interest for this period is Fisher's Memoir. Though it deals mainly with details and with individual institutions, its description of them sheds a flood of light upon the spirit and tendency of the times. I was urged to reprint it in full. At one time I had intended to do so. On a further consideration of this point, I have come to the conclusion that, in days when economy of printing is for a variety of reasons desirable, this course was hardly justifiable. The arrangement of the Memoir is necessarily defective, dealing as it often does twice or thrice over with the same institutions at different stages of their development. There is a good deal of material which, while it will not repay reprinting, is hardly separable from more valuable passages. Lastly, the elaborate statements in tabular form, which form one of its most interesting features, are difficult to reproduce. I have therefore (apart from allusions in the connecting narratives) put the main outlines of this work and some of its more illuminating passages into the form of an appendix.

My thanks are due to Mr. G. R. Kaye, who has zealously assisted me in the study and elimination of large numbers of records and who is responsible for the appendix summarising Fisher's Memoir; to the Records Officers for the ready supply of manuscripts, etc.; to Mr. Sanial of the Calcutta Historical Society; to Sir Michael Sadler, to whom I am indebted for advice and for the valuable suggestion of a

statement of contemporaneous events and to Mr. Rushbrook-Williams for the checking of that statement and perusal of the work in manuscript.

H. SHARP,
Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

SIMLA;

The 25th October, 1919.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
PREFACE		iii

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ENTERPRISE.

Document.		
1.	Minute, dated the 17th April 1781, by Warren Hastings	7
2.	Letter, dated the 1st January 1792, from J. Duncan, Resident at Benares	10
3.	Benares College Rules (enclosure to No. 2)	11
4.	Letter, dated the 13th January 1792, from the Governor in Council to the Resident at Benares	12
5.	Letter, dated the 25th September 1823, from W. Fraser (Delhi), to Government	13

CHAPTER II.

THE GROWTH OF A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

6.	Extracts from a minute, dated the 6th March 1811, by Lord Minto	19
7.	Section 43 of the East India Act of 1813	22
8.	Extract from despatch to Bengal, dated the 3rd June 1814	22
9.	Extract from a minute, dated the 2nd October 1815, by Lord Moira	24
10.	An account of expenditure on education for the years 1813 to 1830	29

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONS.

11.	Minute, dated the 1st January 1804, by T. Brooke, President, Hindu College, Benares	33
12.	Accounts of the Calcutta Madrassa, 3rd October 1823	36
13.	Extract from the report of the Select Committee, dated the 16th August 1832 (on the College of Fort William and the East India College, Haileybury)	38
14.	Report, dated the 31st January 1835, on the Sanskrit College, Calcutta	39

CHAPTER IV.

MASS EDUCATION AND ORGANISATION.

15.	Resolution, dated the 17th July 1823, constituting the General Committee of Public Instruction	53
16.	Letter, dated the 31st July 1823, appointing members of the General Committee of Public Instruction	54
17.	Note, dated 17th July 1823, by Holt Mackenzie	57
18.	Extract from a letter, dated the 17th August 1823, from A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary	65

CHAPTER IV—*contd.*

Mass Education and Organisation—*contd.*

Document.		Page
19.	Letter, dated September 1823, from the Committee to Local Agents	69
20.	Resolution, dated the 17th January 1824, on the allotment of funds . . .	71
21.	Minute, dated the 10th March 1826, by Sir Thomas Munro	73

CHAPTER V.

The Beginning of English Education.

22.	Extract from C. Grant's *Observations*, dated the 16th August 1797	81
23.	Letter, dated the 6th October 1823, from the General Committee of Public Instruction	86
24.	Extract from a despatch, dated the 18th February 1824, to Bengal . . .	91
25.	Letter, dated the 18th August 1824, from the General Committee of Public Instruction	93
26.	Address, dated the 11th December 1823, from Raja Rammohun Roy . . .	98

CHAPTER VI.

Macaulay's Minute.

27.	Extract from a minute, dated the 9th July 1834, by H. T. Prinsep . . .	103
28.	Extract from a letter, dated the 21st January 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction	104
29.	Extract from a letter, dated the 22nd January 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction	105
30.	Minute, dated the 2nd February 1835, by T. B. Macaulay	107
31.	Note, dated the 15th February 1835, by H. T. Prinsep with marginal notes by T. B. Macaulay	117
32.	Resolution, dated the 7th March 1835	130

CHAPTER VII.

The Orientalists' Point of View.

33.	Extract from the Diary of H. T. Prinsep	132
34.	Minute, dated the 20th May 1835, by H. T. Prinsep	134
35.	Letter, dated the 20th April 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction	139
36.	Propositions by the General Committee of Public Instruction adopted on the 11th April 1835	142

CHAPTER VIII.

Lord Auckland's Minute.

37.	Extract from minute of 1828 by Sir J. Malcolm, Governor of Bombay . .	144
38.	Petition of the students of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, dated the 9th August 1836	145

CHAPTER VIII—*contd.*

LORD AUCKLAND'S MINUTE—*contd.*

Document.		Page
39.	Minute, dated the 24th August 1836, by Lord Auckland	147
40.	Minute, dated the 24th November 1839, by Lord Auckland	148
41.	Extract from a note, dated the 24th November 1839, by J. R. Colvin . . .	170

APPENDICES.

A.—Analysis of Fisher's Memoir 181

B.—Chronological list of documents 202

C.—Leading events in India and Europe from 1781 to 1839 207

D.—Bibliography 213

INDEX 219

Selections from Educational Records

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ENTERPRISE.

"Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars. The immense literature which this long period has produced is thoroughly penetrated with the scholastic spirit: and the same spirit has left a deep impression on the social conditions of the people among whom that literature was produced."*

In the laws of Manu and other Dharma Śāstras, there is information about the regulations of the studies of the upper classes, particularly the Brahmans, but there is no record of any instruction for the lower classes; and even with reference to the "twice born" there is little indication of the extension of education. Famous seats of learning were Taxila—at the beginning of the Christian era, Ujjain in the early centuries of that era, Ayodhia, Nalanda and Pataliputra (Patna) during the Gupta period, and Benares; and later on Sringeri in Mysore and Nadia in Bengal. Taxila, Nalanda and Pataliputra were Bhuddist centres. Fā-Hien describes briefly the monasteries at Pataliputra, Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing that at Nalanda; etc.

* F. W. THOMAS, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India.* P. 1.

Whatever may have been the effect of the Muslim conquest of India on education, the Emperor Akbar took considerable interest in the subject, as the following interesting passage from the Ain-i-Akbari * shows:—

"In every country, but especially in Hindustan, boys are kept for years at school, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the Alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He ought then for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will be quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the ṭabi'ī, riyāzī, and ilāhī sciences, and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayākaran, Niyāī, Bedanta, and Pātanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.

These regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasahs."

"Education in India under the British Government," says Howell, "was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed on its present footing."† The East India Company was not specially interested in education. There was no State system

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* Pp. *278-279.* Ed. Blochmann. The spelling and diacritical marks are taken from the text quoted.

† *Education in British India,* by ARTHUR HOWELL, Esq., Calcutta, 1872.

of education in England, and interference by the State was resented. India had her own places of education. There were seats of Sanskrit and Arabic learning. There were indigenous schools reported to number 12,498 in the Madras Presidency in 1822, and estimated at 100,000 in Bengal in 1835. Fisher's Memoir (1827) shows 188,650 pupils under instruction out of a population of 12,850,941 in districts in Madras, or 1 in 67. The paucity of pupils, the lack of facilities for educating girls and the primitive nature of the instruction and discipline are described by Mr. Adam, some of the results of whose enquiries are accessible in the *Calcutta Review*, Volume 11, 1844.* The system appears to have been insufficient and ineffective. But, if England could get on without a State organisation, there seemed little reason to introduce one in India; and the Company was at first a trading rather than a ruling corporation.

The earliest efforts to introduce any form of education beyond the indigenous system emanated from missionaries, private societies and individuals, whether officials or others.

In a despatch of 1659, the Court of Directors had declared their earnest desire by all possible means to propagate the Gospel. Missionaries were allowed to embark on their ships. A missionary clause was embodied in the Charter of 1698. The following extract from a Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated the 16th February 1787, is of interest as regards Madras, alluding as it does to the efforts of Swartz, whose name is still remembered as a pioneer of education in that Presidency.

* * * * * *

The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the Natives, having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India, and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object, it is with great pleasure, we learn from Mr. John Sulivan, our late Resident at Tanjore, that he had, seconded

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* The results were also collected in *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar ; submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838, with a brief view of its past and present condition*, by the Rev. J. Long, Calcutta, 1868.

in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Revd. Mr. Swartz, prevailed on the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Rajahs of the great and little Marawar to establish schools for teaching English at Tanjore, Ramenedaporam and Shevagunga, the capitals of their respective countries, the two latter assigning Pagodas 300 (three hundred) each, for the support of their two seminaries. These works of peace Mr. Sulivan informs us have been interrupted by the calamities of War, and the funds assigned for their support necessarily diverted to other purposes, but we hope they will revive with the restoration of tranquillity.

Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith; to enlighten the minds of the Natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind; we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their success, by contributing 250 pagodas per annum towards the support of each of the schools above mentioned, and of any other school which may be opened for the same purpose, and we accordingly direct you to pay such schools, respectively the annual stipend of 250 pagodas, flattering ourselves that our example will excite the Native Princes in alliance with us to similar and more extensive benefactions.

* * * * * *

After the battle of Plassey and the assumption of wider powers by the Company, its officers began to view attempts at proselytisation with alarm. When Carey, Marshman and Ward reached India towards the close of the eighteenth century, fearful of compulsory repatriation, they settled in the little Danish colony of Serampore. Their zeal, out-running their discretion, brought them into trouble in 1807; only the intervention of the Danish Government saved them from removal to surveillance in Calcutta; and the Court of Directors issued a despatch, dated the 7th September 1808,* declaring strict religious neutrality and refusing to lend authority to any attempt to propagate the Christian religion. The following passages may be quoted:—

* * * * * *

We observe with great satisfaction the temperate and respectful conduct of the society of Missionaries in the discussions which took place on the subject

* Printed in J. W. KAYE'S *Christianity in India; an historical narrative*, p. 513.

of the Publications to which your attention was directed and of the measures which you felt yourselves called upon to adopt, and we entirely approve of the permission which you granted to them of continuing their Press at Serampore. Their residence at that place would probably be attended with little additional inconvenience to your Government, and we conclude moreover that the British Authority has long ago been established at the different Danish Settlements in India. We are well aware that the progress of the Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, for a long period of years has not been attended with injurious consequences; their numbers have not been sufficient to excite alarm and their general conduct has been prudent and conciliating, and we have no reason to suppose that the mere circulation, in a peaceable and unobtrusive manner of translations of the Scriptures is likely to be attended with consequences dangerous to the public safety.

* * * * * *

In adverting to your prohibition of the public preaching in Calcutta to the Hindoos and Mahomedans, at the time when we approve of this measure of precaution, we do not understand you to object to the Missionaries decently performing at their usual places of residence the duties of their Religion in Chapels or Rooms at which admittance may be given to their Converts or to other Christians. We presume that the number of Chaplains which we have appropriated for the performance of Religious duties at Calcutta is sufficient for all the British and other Inhabitants of that place who comprehend the English Language; but we do not collect it to have been your intention to preclude other Christians there from hearing Divine Service performed in a Language which they understand.

Having thus explained to you as briefly as possible the principles on which we wish you to act with regard to the Missionaries, it remains for us only to advert to your suggestion that we should "discourage any accession to the number of Missionaries actually employed under the protection of the British Government in India in the work of Conversion." You are of course aware that many of the meritorious Individuals who have devoted themselves to those labours were not British Subjects or living under our authority, and that none of the Missionaries have proceeded to India with our license.

* * * * * *

In conveying to you our approbation of the control which you had determined to exercise with regard to such Publications as might issue from the Press of the Missionaries, we trust that it will be found not only salutary to the interests of

Government but even satisfactory to the considerate part of the Missionaries themselves. They must be aware that it is quite consistent with doing all justice to the excellency of the motives on which they act, to apprehend that their zeal may sometimes require a check, and that it may be useful and necessary to introduce the control or superintendence of Government, whose responsibility for the public tranquillity will force it to direct its views to those political considerations which the zeal of the Missionaries might overlook.

These passages are of interest, as giving an early instance of press-censorship and as stating the attitude of Government in regard to religion.*

The British Government have never swerved from this position of neutrality. But education has come to be distinguished from proselytisation; mission effort has received state support; and a long list of honoured names testifies to the solid educational work which missionaries have accomplished in India.

It is not necessary to dwell on the efforts of private societies. In 1789, the Calcutta Free School Society was founded for the education of Europeans. Others, such as the Calcutta Benevolent Institution were the outcome of missionary enterprise.

Later came the Calcutta School Book Society, the Calcutta School Society, the Society for promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay and the Bombay Native School Book and School Society.

Among individuals there were Captain Doveton, General Claude Martin, David Hare and others. The growing interest of Indians themselves was exemplified in Ram Mohan Roy and others. Officials, too, though this was no recognised part of their duties, founded institu-

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* In 1822 Mr. Carey, son of Dr. Carey, was reprimanded by Government for not adhering strictly to the policy of neutrality. A letter, dated Fort William, 5th July 1822, addressed to Sir D. Ochterlony, reads—"His Excellency the Governor General in Council has perceived with much regret the highly injudicious and objectionable course pursued by Mr. Carey in introducing the sacred books of Scripture as school books in institutions of so recent a date and in such a state of society as that of Rajpootanah. Mr. Carey will receive injunctions through his father, the Reverend Doctor Carey, to discontinue the use in schools under his charge of the Christian Scriptures and all religious tracts calculated to excite alarm as to our motives in the minds of the Natives."

tions. In 1781 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassa, the main and special object of which was "to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at that date largely monopolised by the Hindus."* The cost was at first privately defrayed by the Governor-General; but after two years he was reimbursed and the institution was handed over to Government. In 1792, Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, founded the Benares Sanskrit College, which was maintained by Government. The Commissioner of the Deccan started a college for Hindu learning at Poona, utilising part of the fund established by the Peshwas for the support of *Pandits*.† In the Delhi district Mr. Fraser founded schools for the instruction of "children of the zamindars or peasantry, in reading and writing the Persian language, at an expense to himself of about Rs. 200 per mensem."

Thus, though the Company had as yet assumed no responsibility for the education of the people, its individual officers here and there applied public funds to the maintenance of institutions of oriental learning. Two early documents are connected with these institutions. On the 17th April, 1781, the Governor-General issued a minute relative to the Calcutta Madrassa. In the Government order of the 13th January, 1792, Lord Cornwallis approved the proposal of the Resident at Benares for the foundation of the Benares Sanskrit College.

The documents referred to are here reproduced together with the project put forward by the Resident at Benares, and Mr. Fraser's scheme.

(*1*) *Minute by the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, dated the 17th April 1781.*‡

In the month of September 1780 a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that *Minute by Warren Hastings, 1781.*

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* *Education in British India* by ARTHUR HOWELL, p. 1.

† Another version says that the institution was charged to the Company. Probably the explanation is that the Company had assumed management of the *Dakshna* Fund. See Fisher's Memoir quoted in Appendix A, p. 198.

‡ Printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, VIII, 1914, p. 105 f.

Minute by Warren Hastings, 1781—contd.

purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudgid O'din who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law, and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madressa or College, and Mudgid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished court and the wisdom of every well regulated Government both in India and in Persia to promote by such institutions the growth and extention of liberal knowledge, that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire, that the numerous offices of our Government which required men of improved abilities to fill and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of Jurisprudence to officiate as judges in the criminal and assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion in which the sincerity of what I shall hereafter propose for the public patronage will be best evident by my own example) the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from myself [which] afforded them particular encouragement, to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.

This was the substance of the Petition which I can only repeat from my memory, having mislaid the original.

I dismissed them with a promise of complying with their wishes to the utmost of my power. I sent for the man on whom they had bestowed such encomiums and prevailed upon him to accept of the office designed for him. He opened his school about the beginning of October and has bestowed an unremitted attention on it to this time, with a success and reputation which have justified the expectation which has been formed of it. Many students have already finished their education under his instructions and have received their dismission in form and many dismissed unknown to me. The master supposing himself limited to a fixed monthly sum which would not admit a larger number besides day scholars, he has at this time forty boarders mostly natives of these Provinces, but some sojourners from other parts of India. Among them I had the satisfaction of seeing on the last new year's day, some who had come from the districts of Cashmeer, Guzarat, and one from the Carnatic.

I am assured that the want of suitable accommodation alone prevents an increase of the number. For this reason I have lately made a purchase of a convenient piece of ground near the Boita Connah in a quarter of the town called

Podpoker and have laid the foundation of a square building for a madrissa constructed on the plan of similar edifices in other parts of India.

Minute by Warren Hastings, 1781—contd.

Thus far I have prosecuted the undertaking on my own means and with no very liberal supplies I am now constrained to recommend it to the Board, and through that channel to the Hon'ble Court of Directors for a more adequate and permanent endowment.

By an estimate of the building which with a plan and elevation of it shall accompany this minute the whole cost of it will be 51,000 Arcot Rupees, to which I shall beg leave to add the price of the ground being 6,280 Sa Rupees. The amount of both is Arcot rupees 57,745-2-11. It shall be my care to prevent an excess of this sum which I request may be placed to the Company's accounts, and a bond allowed me for the amount and that I may be enabled by the sanction of the Board to execute this work.

I must likewise propose that a parcel of land may be assigned for the growing charge of this foundation.

The present expense is as follows :—

	Sicca. Rs.
The Preceptor per month	300
40 Scholars from 7 to 6 per month	222
A Sweeper	3
House rent	100
TOTAL	625

The day scholars pay nothing. In the proportion of the above expense an establishment of 100 Scholars may be estimated at 10,000 Rupees per month at the utmost. I would recommend that the rents of one or more Mousa or villages in the neighbourhood of the place be assigned for the monthly expence of the proposed Madressa and that it be referred to the Committee of Revenue to provide and make the endowment and to regulate the mode of collection and payment in such a manner as to fix and ascertain the amount and periods of both and prevent any future abuses of one or misapplication of the other. For the present an assignment of half the estimated sum will be sufficient.

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM;

The 17th April 1781.

Agreed. E. WHEELER.

Minute by Warren Hastings, 1781—concld.

Ordered that the estimate enclosed in the above minute be entered after the Consultation.

Agreed to the Governor-General's request and ordered accordingly.

Ordered that copies of the above minute and its enclosure together with the plan and elevation of the building therein mentioned be transmitted to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors by the ships under dispatch and the subject particularly recommended to them for the purposes set forth by the Governor-General.

(2) *Letter from J. Duncan, Resident, Benares, No. 17, dated 1st January 1792, to the Earl of Cornwallis, K.G., Governor-General in Council.**

Benares College, 1792.

MY LORD,

HAVING in view to the surplus Revenue expected to be derived from the permanent settlement (as reported in my address of the 25th November 1789) and of the instructions thereon passed by your Lordship in Council in February last to transmit for the consideration of Government my sentiments regarding its appropriation reflected frequently on the subject; it appeared to me that a part of those funds could not be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of a Hindoo College or Academy for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes.

Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindoos; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shewn even by their own native princes; for although learning has ever been cultivated at Benares, in numerous private seminaries, yet no public Institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed; to which may, in a considerable degree, be attributed the great difficulty of now collecting complete treatises (although such are well known to have existed) on the Hindoo religion, laws, arts, or sciences; a defect and loss, which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well adapted to correct, and recover by a gradual collection and correction of the books still to be met (though in a very dispersed and imperfect state) so as with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the possessors and students to

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* Printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, VIII, 1914, pp. 130-133; and in G. NICHOLLS' *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla or Sanskrit College*. Allahabad, 1907, p. 1 f.

Benares College, 1792—contd.

accumulate at only a small and comparative expence to Government, a precious library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing on any part of the globe.

The 2nd principal advantage that may be derived from this Institution will be felt in its effects more immediately by the natives, though not without being participated in by the British subjects, who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof, to assist the European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people.

*   *   *   *   *

The Extract of my proceedings already referred to contains the few rules which have already been thought of for this Institution, and they are respectfully submitted to Government for such correction or addition as may be thought expedient.

JONATHAN DUNCAN.

BENARES ;

The 1st January 1792.

(3) *Proposed Rules for the Benares College.*

1. The Governor in Council to be Visitor, and the Resident, his Deputy.

2. The stipends to be paid by the hands of the Resident ; but the Pundits to have no concern with the collection of the Revenue.

3. The nine scholars (or eighteen if so many can be supported) to be taught gratis ; but no others except a certain number of such poor boys whose parents or kinsmen cannot pay for instruction. All other scholars should pay their respective teachers, as usual.

4. The teachers and students to hold their places during the pleasure of the Visitor.

5. Complaints to be first made to the Resident with a power of appealing to the Visitor for his decisions.

6. The professor of medicine must be a Vaidya and so may the teacher of grammar, but as he could not teach Panini it would be better that all except the physician should be Brahmins.

Benares College, 1792—contd.

7. The Brahmin teachers to have a preference over strangers in succeeding to the headship and the students in succeeding to professorships, if they shall on examination be found qualified.

8. The scholars to be examined four times a year in the presence of the Resident in all such parts of knowledge as are not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but Brahmins.

9. Each professor to compose annually a lecture for the use of his students, on his respective science; and copies of such lectures as may legally be divulged to be delivered to the Resident.

10. Examinations of the students, in the more secret branches of learning, to be made four times a year by a committee of Brahmins nominated by the Resident.

11. The plan of a course of study in each Science to be prepared by the several professors.

12. The students to be sometimes employed in transcribing or correcting books for the use of the College, so as to form in time a perfect library.

13. The discipline of the College to be conformable in all respects to the Dharma Sastra in the Chapter on education. The second book of Monu contains the whole system of discipline.

(4) *Letter, dated the 13th January 1792, from the Governor in Council to the Resident at Benares, J. Duncan, Esq.**

SIR,

WE have received your letter of the 1st instant with its enclosure.

We entirely approve of the plan of the Hindoo College which you have established from the commencement of 1199 Fussly and concur in your sentiments respecting the public benefit that may be expected to result from it; you will limit the expence of the establishment for the current year to Sicca Rupees 14,000 and in the event of the surplus collection not proving adequate to the payment of the amount you have our sanction to issue the deficiency from your Treasury. If in consequence of the unfavourableness of the past season there should be no surplus collections you will charge the whole expence to the account of Government. From the commencement of the Fussly year 1200 we authorize you to increase the establishment to Sicca Rupees 20,000 per annum, provided upon the arrival of that period you shall be of opinion (of which you will advise us) that the

* Printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, VIII, 1914, pp. 137-138.

surplus collections will be adequate to the payment of the amount, otherwise you will restrict the expence to the sum authorized to be disbursed in the current year.

Benares College, 1792—concld.

(5) *Letter, dated 25th September 1823, from W. Fraser to the Chief Secretary, Fort William.*

To

W. B. Bayley, Esq., *Chief Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department, Fort William.*

Sir,

Letter from W. Fraser, 25th Sept. 1823.

It would be extremely ridiculous in me to sit down to write to the Government or to you a sentence even upon the benefit of teaching the children of the Peasantry of this country to read and write. I shall merely observe that the greatest difficulty this Government suffers, in its endeavours to govern well, springs from the immorality and ignorance of the mass of the people, their disregard of knowledge not connected with agriculture and cattle and particularly their ignorance of the spirit, principles and system of the British Government.

2. It was long ago evident to me that to commence a plan which might in time extend to a general arrangement for the instruction of a portion of the children of the Peasantry, or as would be commonly called the zamindars, to imbue them with the elements of knowledge, which would excite a spirit for learning and information, was the only way of laying the foundation for the advancement of the people in moral conduct.

3. To this end, so far back as 1814, I began with the instruction of 15 boys of the peasantry in reading and writing the Persian character and language. In 1816 two schools of 20 boys each were established. In 1820 a third, and in this year a fourth, has been set on foot. The schools are intended exclusively for the children of the peasantry or zamindars, and the main object in view is that the boys should understand from being able to read and write, something of the British Judicial and Revenue system to the purpose of a diffusion of information amongst the mass, with which the individuals are identified.

4. I wished to extend the plan to the instruction of so many boys in a hundred, in the English, the Persian and the Hindee languages, but my means are totally inadequate to the end. It might be difficult to procure teachers of the English language, teachers of the Persian and Hindee languages are always to be found.

5. The establishment of schools in cities and towns is comparatively speaking of secondary consideration—the majority of children of classes that inhabit cities

Letter from W. Fraser, 25th Sept. 1823—contd.

and towns are educated by their parents. It is the children of zamindars, of the peasantry, of men enjoying hereditary and paternal lands in their own right, the mass of the people ; thousands to one of the people that require this Instruction and will benefit by it.

6. At present the number of boys I have under instruction is 80 and the number of masters four. For the system prevalent at home originating in this country is adopted by a particular class of instructors only, few of the Mohomadan teachers understand it. I find that one master manages with advantage 20 or 25 village boys. The master is allowed a rupee a month for each boy and each boy is allowed a seer of wheat flour a day. Without this ration the parents would not send their children to be taught for the boy's labour is lost to the family and the idle hand is not willingly supported by the rest, although in future it may be a means of raising the family affluence. In fact the schools are kept up by bribing both masters and boys, the former with the allowance of a rupee a month per boy and the latter with food. The head men would generally send their boys without receiving the daily ration, but as others receive it, they too think it as well to require it.

7. My object now is to draw the attention of Government to this institution, to the many obvious benefits which must arise from its extensions and encouragement, and to solicit for it the patronage of Government. I find that the monthly expense about 200 Rupees is too heavy for me to support and that it is out of the question to go on with the plan as a private undertaking. I seek therefore a provision by Government for these four schools already established and reimbursement for the sums which have been laid out upon them. I propose too that a general measure should be authorised for preparing a sufficient number of boys out of the peasantry to receive instruction in the primary branches of education by teaching them to read and write the Persian and Hindee and if possible the English language. For instance, by a Census for the Western Division there is, we find, a population of 2,19,929 contained in 47,018 houses or families. In this population there are 38,115 boys below 14 years of age or about 19,053 below 7 years of age. But the class I allude to, the land-owning peasantry, the zamindars as they are called, is rated at 1,20,026 souls —although (there are) many other cultivators—so that the boys for education may be estimated at about 10,000, and, if one in twenty-five or one in ten or twelve families be taught to read and write, that is, four in a hundred or forty in a thousand, four hundred boys would be fitted to acquire a knowledge of our principles of Government and our system, and to impart this knowledge by actual contact with two hundred and twenty thousand souls. The expense of this institution as it must be begun, would be Rs. 175 for a hundred boys a month, or seven hundred rupees a month for four hundred boys or Rs. 8,400 a year, but

if it were possible to supply masters capable of teaching on the Lancastrian principle the expenses would be much less. *Letter from W. Fraser, 25th Sept. 1823*—concld.

8. If Government will give any consideration to my proposal I can pledge myself to carry it into execution and that it be acknowledged by the people as the greatest benefit Government could confer upon them. At all events I request you will obtain the orders of Government relative to the 80 boys now under tuition, the monthly expense of their support and schooling, and the money already laid out upon them. If Government adopt the schools, I will forward to you the original accounts from first to last and a descriptive list of the boys noting the degree of proficiency of each.*

I have, etc.,

W. FRASER, *2nd Member.*

BOARD OF REVENUE, DELHI DISTRICT;

Camp Binjhoul, 25th September 1823.

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* The General Committee of Public Instruction in a letter to Government, dated 29th November 1823, animadverted upon Mr. Fraser's proposal, and based their refusal of support upon the fact that the answer of the Local Agents at Delhi to their circular letter of the previous August had not been received, upon the expense as compared with the Chinsurah scale of cost, and upon the principle that it was " expedient that the appropriation of any limited funds assigned for the purpose of public education should be chiefly directed to the best means of improving the education of the more respectable members of Indian society, especially those who make letters their profession."

CHAPTER II.

THE GROWTH OF A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Despite the efforts of individual officers, the East India Company had not yet come to regard the promotion of education as part of its duty and there was much opposition to the establishment of any system of instruction. Gradually the idea began to dawn that some responsibility lay upon that body. This view found expression both in England and in India.

Charles Grant, a servant of the Company in India, afterwards a Director and a member of Parliament, was one of the leaders of the Clapham sect and a friend of Wilberforce, the philanthropist. In 1792, Grant wrote a treatise entitled "Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the means of Improving it."* He submitted his treatise to his colleagues on the Court of Directors in 1797. The document begins by assuming that all parties will concur in the sentiment that we ought to study the happiness of the vast body of subjects which we have acquired in India. Then follows a picture of "the people of Hindoostan" and in particular of "the Bengalese," which leads one to suspect that this well-wisher of India felt himself concerned at any cost to make out, even at the risk of exaggeration, a strong case for reform and was influenced by the arguments used by the obstructionists that the necessity for it was lacking.

Grant declared the cause of this condition of things to be ignorance and its remedy to be education. He raised the question as to whether the medium of instruction should be the vernacular or English.

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* *Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company. 16th August 1832.* General Appendix 1; pp. 3 to 89.

While he admitted certain advantages in the use of the vernaculars and the possibility of their employment as a medium of instruction, he declared strongly in favour of the English language as the vehicle for imparting western ideas or as he called them "our superior lights." Thus he anticipated Macaulay. But at the same time he went far beyond him in proposing the diffusion of English over the country, the apparent supersession of vernaculars by that language and the imparting of the knowledge of Christianity. He also laid stress upon the importance of science and instruction in mechanics as applied to agriculture and other useful arts and the improvement of the methods of agriculture, etc. His views upon this subject are embodied in Chapter V.

When the question arose of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1792-93, Wilberforce, instigated by Grant, pleaded for the despatch of schoolmasters to India, and carried a resolution in Parliament to the effect "that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement."*

He proposed to introduce into the bill a specific measure for the encouragement of missionaries and schoolmasters to be sent out from England. But the opposite party in the Court of Directors urged "that the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." The Government was unable to press Wilberforce's clause.

Meantime on the 6th March, 1811, the Governor-General, Lord Minto, wrote a minute on the subject of education in India, the chief theme of which is the lamentable decay of learning. It is reproduced at the end of this Chapter.

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* *Education in British India*, by ARTHUR HOWELL, p. 3. See also *Calcutta Review*, III, 1845, p. 222f.

Twenty years after the first attempt of Grant and Wilberforce to convince the Court of Directors of a sense of their responsibilities, the Charter of the Company came up once again for renewal. In the interim, there had been a change of feeling. Although the evidence tendered before the Committee of the House appointed for considering this subject was still strongly opposed to educational or missionary efforts in India, nevertheless Wilberforce again succeeded in carrying his resolution. The result was the insertion in the East India Company Act of 1813 (53, Geo. 3, C, 155) of a clause numbered 43, which is justly famous as containing the first legislative admission of the right of education in India to participate in the public revenues. The section as it originally stood indicated that persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for purposes of introducing useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement should apply for permission to the Court of Directors who should either grant it or in the event of refusal transmit the application to the Board of Control who might finally dispose of it. Protection was to be afforded to such persons on arrival in India. The most important part of the section is reproduced at the end of this Chapter, and enables the Governor-General in Council to direct the application to education of an annual sum not less than one lakh of rupees.

"In some years," says the Report on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832, "less than that has been expended, but in others twice or even five times the stipulated amount." Indeed, the resolution of the Governor-General reproduced as document No. 20 in Chapter IV shows that it was not till 1823 that the grant was appropriated for its proper use.

But regular expenditure had been incurred some years before the first educational grant figured in the British estimates; and an account has been preserved (document No. 10), which shows the expenditure from 1813 to 1830 and includes the proceeds both of the grant and of previous allocations. The effect of the new policy is clearly visible in the figures for 1824.

In 1814 the Court of Directors issued their first educational despatch. Portions of it related to the disposal of the sum provided by the Act of 1813. It is reproduced as document No. 8.

Finally, Lord Moira's minute of 1815 (document No. 9) may suitably be printed as another extract in this chapter. He discusses the pressing need for education and the best means of utilising the public money thereon.

(6) *Extracts from a minute, dated the 6th March 1811, by Lord Minto.**

Minute by Lord Minto, 1811.

It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished but the circle of learning even among those who still devote themselves to it appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse and even actual loss of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that unless Government interpose with a fostering hand the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books or of persons capable of explaining them.

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Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery so frequently noticed in the official reports is in a great measure ascribable both in the Mahomedans and Hindoos to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths. It has been even suggested and apparently not without foundation that to this uncultivated state of the minds of the natives is in a great degree to be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which were recently so great a scourge to the country.

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Sufficient, I presume, has been already said to show the fitness of incurring some additional expense with a view to the restoration of learning in the extensive provinces subject to the immediate government of this presidency. I

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* *Evidence of 1832, App. I.*, No. 3 [325/486]. (*Note*.—For the full title of this work and the mode of referencing see pp. 181 and 182.)

Minute by Lord Minto, 1811—contd.

say "additional" because some expense is already incurred for the maintenance of students at Nuddea and a liberal sum is allowed for the support of the Hindu College on an extensive scale at Benares. In the former case, however, the expense allowed is quite insufficient for the ends proposed and in the latter the institution requires to be remodelled in order to adapt it to the prevailing opinions and habits of the natives and to correct the abuses which have crept into it. The following points appear particularly to demand attention in revising the rules established for the government of the college of Benares.

1st. A prejudice appears to exist among the Hindoos at that city against the office of professor considered as an office or even as a service; and the most learned pundits have consequently invariably refused the situation although the salary attached to it is liberal.

2nd. The feuds which have arisen among the members of the college and which may be ascribed chiefly to the avarice and malversation of the former native rector, entrusted with authority over the rest and with the payment of their allowances, have tended materially to defeat the objects of the institution.

3rd. That part of the plan which supposes the attendance of teachers and pupils in a public hall appears to be inconsistent with the usages of the Hindoos. It has not only never taken effect but has tended to prevent the professors from giving instruction in their own houses.

* * * * * * * *

I would accordingly recommend that in addition to the college at Benares (to be subjected of course to the reform already noticed) colleges be established at Nuddea and at Bhour near Bhower in the district of Tirhoot.

The following are the principal rules which I would propose should be established for the superintendence and management of those institutions including that already existing at the city of Benares:

That the general superintendence of the colleges be vested at Benares in the agent to the Governor-General, the magistrate of the city and collector of the province; at Nuddea in the senior member of the Board of Revenue and the magistrate and collector of that district; at Tirhoot in the senior judge of the provincial court for the division of Patna and the magistrate and collector of that district and that such other persons be associated with those officers as Government may at any time deem it advisable to appoint.

2nd. That pensions be granted under the appellation of *nuka birt* to distinguished teachers on condition that they deliver instructions to pupils at their own houses.

Minute by Lord Minto, 1811—concld.

3rd. That the pensions to the teachers be paid by the collectors under the general Regulations respecting pensions.

4th. That the teachers be nominated by the different committees subject to the approval or rejection of the Governor-General in Council.

5th. That a public library be attached to each of the colleges under the charge of a learned native with a small establishment of servants for the care of the manuscripts.

6th. That the librarians be appointed and remunerated in the mode prescribed with respect to the teachers.

7th. That ready access be afforded both to the teachers and the students and likewise to strangers, under such restrictions as the public convenience may require, for the purpose of consulting, transcribing the books, or making extracts from them.

8th. That the duty of procuring books either by purchase or transcription be entrusted to the librarian under the control and orders of the committee.

9th. That public disputations be held annually before the committees, and in the presence of all other persons who may be desirous of attending and that prizes, rewards and literary honours be conferred on such of the students as shall have manifested the greatest proficiency.

* * * * * * * *

With the difference only in the population of Hindoos and Mahomedans all the arguments which have been above stated in support of the arrangements proposed to be adopted for the propagation of knowledge among the former would equally apply to similar institutions for the benefit of the Mahomedans. A sentiment of deference however for the Honourable Court of Directors restrains me from recommending any extension of the plan until their orders shall have been received on the subject generally of the Minute. I deem it therefore sufficient to add on the present occasion that Mahomedan colleges might be beneficially established at Bhaugulpore, Jaunpore (where Persian and Arabic literature formerly flourished) and at some places in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces; and that it might be advisable to reform the Madrissa or Mahomedan collegiate institution at Calcutta, on the principles recommended with respect to the Hindoo colleges. The attention of the Honourable Court will be of course drawn to this interesting subject in the next despatch from the Revenue Department.

(Signed) MINTO,
T. LUMSDEN,
G. HEWETT,
H. T. COLEBROOKE.

(7) *East India Company Act of 1813, section 43.**

Act of 1813.

It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that† any schools, public lectures, or other institutions, for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act shall be governed by such regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council; subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries: Provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated.

(8) *Extract of letter, in the Public Department, from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 3rd June 1814.‡*

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Despatch of 1814.

12. The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country.

13. Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration.

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* *Collection of Statutes relating to India*, vol. i, p. 116.

† The word 'that' was repealed by 51 and 52 Victoria, Chapter 3.

‡ *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 5 [329/486].

14. We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance. *Despatch of 1814*—contd.

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16. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we desire that your attention may be directed in an especial manner to Benares, and that you call upon your public representatives there to report to you what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city; what branches of science and literature are taught there; by what means the professors and teachers are supported; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage.

* * * * * * * *

18. The influence of such communications could not fail to be strengthened by your causing it to be made known that it is in the contemplation of the British Government to introduce and establish amongst the natives a gradation of honorary distinction as the reward of merit, either by the public presentation of ornaments of dress, in conformity with the usage of the East, or by conferring titles, or by both, as may be deemed most grateful to the natives, who should be invited to communicate their ideas to you upon points so much connected with their feelings.

19. We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal policy which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.

20. The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly chaplain at Madras,* and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.

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* Bell (1753—1803) was in Madras from 1789 to 1796. His system of 'mutual instruction' was tried in England for a short time. It was officially condemned in 1839 as a vicious system leading to disastrous results; and has been condemned by most educational authorities since. See *Calcutta Review*, No. XXXIII, 1852, pp. 53—96.

Despatch of 1814—contd.

22. We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the Judicial Department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

23. With a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed under your authority for this purpose, may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal.

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25. When you have digested any plan calculated to promote the views to which your attention has been directed in the foregoing instructions, you will take the earliest opportunity of submitting it to us for our consideration, but you will not finally adopt any arrangement for carrying it into execution until it shall have previously received our approbation and sanction.

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We are
Your affectionate Friends,
W. F. ELPHINSTONE, ETC.

(9) *Extract from a minute by Lord Moira, on the Judicial administration of the Presidency of Fort William, dated the 2nd October 1815.*

Minute by Lord Moira, 1815.

119. In looking for a remedy to these evils, the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives will necessarily form a prominent feature of any plan which may arise from the above suggestions, and I have therefore not failed to turn my most solicitous attention to the important object of public education.

120. The humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters, claims the first place in this discussion. These men teach the first rudiments of reading, writing

and arithmetic for a trifling stipend which is within reach of any man's means, and the instruction which they are capable of imparting, suffices for the village zeemeendar, the village accountant and the village shopkeeper.

Minute by Lord Moira, 1815—contd.

121. As the public money would be ill-appropriated in merely providing gratuitous access to that quantum of education which is already attainable, any intervention of government either by superintendence, or by contribution, should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition, and to the diffusion of it to places and persons now out of its reach. Improvement and diffusion may go hand in hand; yet the latter is to be considered matter of calculation, while the former should be deemed positively incumbent. The general, the sad defect of this education is, that the inculcation of moral principle forms no part of it. This radical want is not imputable to us. The necessities of self-defence (for all our extensions of territory have been achieved in repelling efforts made for the subversion of our power) and our occupation in securing the new possessions, have allowed us till lately, but little leisure to examine deliberately the state of the population which we had been gradually bringing beneath our sway. It was already vitiated. The unceasing wars which had harassed all parts of India, left everywhere their invariable effects, a disorganization of that frame-work of habit and opinion, which enforces moral conduct, and an emancipation of all those irregular impulses which revolt at its restraint. The village school-masters could not teach that in which they had themselves never been instructed; and universal debasement of mind, the constant concomitant of subjugation to despotic rule, left no chance that an innate sense of equity should in those confined circles suggest the recommendation of principles not thought worthy of cultivation by the government. The remedy for this is to furnish the village school-masters with little manuals of religious sentiments and ethic maxims, conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars; taking care that while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular Creed. The absence of such an objection, and small pecuniary rewards for zeal occasionally administered by the magistrates, would induce the school-masters to use those compilations readily.

122. To those who are anxious to propagate among the vast population of this empire the inestimable lights of true religion, it may be confidently maintained that there is no hope of success but by rendering the people capable of understanding that which is proposed to them; open the minds of the rising generation by due instruction; give them a habit of reverencing the principles which the Christian doctrine enjoins without stimulating the parents into opposition by teaching on point adverse to their superstitions; and their inevitable rejection of beliefs irreconcilable to the reason which you will have enabled them to exercise, and repugnant to the probity which you will have taught them to admire, must render

Minute by Lord Moira, 1815— contd.

certain their transition to the path you wish. As it is, their ignorance insures their tenaciousness of their earlier impressions, and pledges their implicit submission to the dictates with which the Brahmins would counteract the object were they alarmed into contest. The progress to be effectual, must be patient and silent; like every other beneficial change, it must rise out of the general sense of society, not be imposed upon it; and to produce that sense, I know no mode but education.

123. The next gradation in public tuition is the higher class of teachers to be found in the principal towns, and the only question in regard to them appears to be the expediency of furnishing them with the means of inculcating more accurate ideas of general science and sounder principles of morality.

124. In these towns will also be found the same medium scale of education for the class of shopkeepers, artificers and labourers as in the country villages, but in these towns, and principally in the chief station of the zillah, and in the neighbourhood of our jails will be found a numerous population, which seem to call for the particular attention of Government. I allude to the offspring of mendicants and vagrants, who nurtured in idleness and vice, are destined to recruit the ranks of the professional thieves infesting all great cities. Houses of industry for the education, reformation and employment of these infant profligates, appear to be particularly needed.

125. That the native governments were not inattentive to the important object of public education, is evinced by the numerous grants of rent-free land, and of pecuniary allowances, for the endowment of public seminaries and the education of particular descriptions of pupils. But in the general disregard of established institutions which appears to have marked the steps of the British Government hitherto, their appropriation has been lost sight of, and the funds have through an inattention been converted into private property by native individuals.

126. In such of these institutions as yet remain, and in such of them as may be still recoverable to their original purposes, the point for our consideration will be the nature as well as the extent of the interference which it may be proper for Government to exercise, and the mode in which that interference should be applied for giving an improved direction to them.

127. With this view I beg leave to propose that the several plans which may be or have been suggested for the improvement of education in this country should be referred to the consideration of committees to be formed at the stations of Dacca, Patna, Moorshedabad, Benares, Bareilly and Furruckabad, of the principal civil officers residing there, and that their opinions be afterwards submitted to the deliberate revision of the most experienced servants in the judicial and revenue departments at the presidency.

128. In the meantime two experimental schools, one for Hindoos and one for Mahomedans, might be established at each zillah station under the superintendence of a committee, consisting of all the civil servants at the station, including the surgeons, together with any resident gentlemen not in the service who might be willing to lend their assistance; the expediency and the means of extending the plan beyond the sudder stations, will form a part of the deliberation of the provincial committees to be submitted to the control committee at the presidency. *Minute by Lord Moira, 1815—* contd.

129. The decay of religious endowments and public seminaries is noticed by several of the magistrates; and the decline of morality is stated to be a subject of reproach against us by all the natives whom birth or education has inspired with concern for the good order or well being of society.

130. If the operative effect of the British administration has been, however unintentionally, to do away with the restraint which before existed on the evil passions, while the increase of wealth, and more general diffusion of it, arising from the solid principles of equal justice, have afforded additional temptation to their indulgence, the reflecting part of the community may probably be impressed with an erroneous idea, that vice, if not encouraged, is not sufficiently discountenanced by the ruling power.

131. It certainly does not appear to have been ever the intention of the laws enacted by the British government to lessen the obligation of religion, or to weaken the proper influence of the priesthood. But that such has been the result of the general system cannot be doubted. This result may be ascribed partly to the omission of a positive enactment in support of the existing institutions of the country, partly to a too strict adherence in the judicial officers to the letter, without adhering to the general spirit of the laws, and partly perhaps to an expansive tendency in the human mind which in a state of freedom imperceptibly seeks progressive improvement with an impulse, which nothing but an injudicious attempt to introduce it too rapidly is capable of checking.

132. The immediate encouragement of the superior descriptions of science by any bounty to the existing native colleges, appears to me a project altogether delusive. I do not believe that in those retreats there remain any embers capable of being fanned into life. It is true, the form of tuition is kept up in them, but the ceremony is gone through by men who are (as far as I could learn) devoid of comprehension in the very branches which they profess to teach. I was particularly curious to assure myself of the state of learning in the university of Benares, the place where one should expect that ancient acquirements would be found in the best preservation. My incompetence to judge on the substance of the answers given by the young men examined before me, did not extend to the manner of their performance, which was such as inspired

Minute by Lord Moira, 1815—contd.

the notion that every thing they said was wholly by rote. On following up this suspicion I ascertained that I had guessed accurately. I remained satisfied that the students only got by heart certain formularies unexplained to them by professors incapable of expounding the spirit of the lessons. Of course, the instruction, unless where it chanced to fall on some mind uncommonly vigorous and acute, would have very limited effect in future application, and if it did happen to be bestowed on a genius able to unravel it, the rational calculation was, that it would only render him more dexterous in those crooked practices which the depraved habitudes of the community would offer to his imitation. I thence conceive that the revival of the liberal sciences among the natives can only be effected by the previous education (beginning with the rudiments) which shall gradually give to individuals the power of observing the relations of different branches of learning with each other, of comprehending the right use of science in the business of life, and of directing their enlargement of thought to the promotion of those moral observances in which rests the temporal convenience of society as well as the sublimer duty of man. Then, but not till then, such records, or such traces of ancient lore as remain in the universities may be useful. Consequently to this opinion, I must think that the sum set apart by the Honorable Court for the advancement of science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools, than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree.

133. It is satisfactory to find that there are many natives of birth and education who still feel an anxiety for the improvement of the general morals. For it is through their agency that such a measure is most likely to succeed. It is also pleasing to observe, from the accurate and lively picture which Mr. Fortescue has drawn of the public feeling, that while many solid and essential benefits are acknowledged in the security of person and property, in the advancement of agriculture and of commerce and in the free enjoyment of wealth, most of the disadvantages enumerated, where they attach to the executive details of the laws are capable of easy correction, and where they spring from the habits and manners of the people themselves, may be expected to yield to the silent but entire operation of the measures now in contemplation.

134. In the infancy of the British administration in this country, it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice. "Not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse, though useful, virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows."

135. The lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society, which calls for a more enlarged and liberal

policy. The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life, will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name, that this beneficial revolution should arise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble : may we till it worthily !

Minute by Lord Moira, 1815—concld.

(Sd.) MOIRA.

ON THE RIVER GANGES,

The 2nd October 1815.

(*10*) *An account of all sums that have been applied to the purpose of education of the natives in India, from the year 1813 to the latest period to which the same can be made out, distinguishing the amount in each year.**

Year.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£	£
1813	4,207	480	442	5,129
1814	11,606	480	499	12,585
1815	4,405	480	537	5,422
1816	5,146	480	578	6,204
1817	5,177	480	795	6,452
1818	5,211	480	630	6,321
1819	7,191	480	1,270	8,941
1820	5,807	480	1,401	7,688
1821	6,882	480	594	7,956
1822	9,081	480	594	10,155
1823	6,134	480	594	7,208
1824	19,970	480	1,434	21,884
1825	57,122	480	8,961	66,563
1826	21,623	480	5,309	27,412
1827	30,077	2,140	13,096	45,313
1828	22,797	2,980	10,064	35,841
1829	24,663	3,614	9,799	38,076
1830	28,748	2,946	12,636	44,330

JAMES C. MELVILL.

* *Evidence of 1832, App. I.*, No. 2 [325/483].

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONS.

Before considering the documents which bear upon the contest between the Orientalists and the Anglicists, it is necessary to go back for a moment and to examine the character and progress of the institutions which Government had hitherto supported. The two most famous may be taken as examples; and an early report is printed on a third, the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. Mention is made of other institutions in Chapters I and V and Appendix A.

The institution of the Calcutta Madrassa* was intended for the encouragement of the study of Arabic and Persian and of the Muhammadan law with a view more especially to the production of officers for the courts of justice. The course included natural philosophy, theology, law, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, oratory and grammar—all according to Islamic culture. There were five teachers on pay ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 400 a month; and the students, arranged in five classes, received stipends from Rs. 6 to Rs. 15 according to the class in which they were enrolled.

Lands of the estimated value of Rs. 29,000 a year had been assigned for the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrassa and made over to Muhammad Moizuddin, who was called the Superior of the institution, and to his successors. In 1788 complaints were made of misconduct and mismanagement on the part of the Superior and the action taken did not prevent the recurrence of similar complaints thereafter. In 1818 it was found necessary to appoint a European Secretary to reside on the spot and control the affairs of

* See also pages 7 and 182 and the *History of the Calcutta Madrassa* in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1914, Vol. VIII, p. 82f.

the Madrassa. The courses were overhauled and in 1821 an annual examination was held for the first time. In 1823 the college was removed from its unsatisfactory surroundings to Hastings Place. The results achieved by the college continued to show improvements.*

The Benares Hindu Sanskrit College had as its object "the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of the Hindoos." The establishment originally consisted of a head *pandit* or rector, eight professors, nine salaried students, a certain number of poor children who were instructed gratis and any who cared to pay for instruction. The course was theology, ritual, medicine, music, mechanic arts, grammar, prosody, sacred lexicography, mathematics, metaphysics, logic, law, history, ethics, philosophy and poetry. The cost was Rs. 20,000 a year. A minute (document No. 11) exists written by Mr. Thomas Brooke, the second judge of the Court of Appeal at Benares, and placed by him in his capacity of acting president of the institution before the committee of management at a meeting of the 1st January 1804. He brought to the notice of the committee the disrepute into which the college had fallen.

Among the reforms which Mr. Brooke considered necessary were the vesting of proper powers in the committee, the limitation of the branches of learning to be taught so that liberal salaries might be paid to the professors and the pensioning of all *pandits* when they became too infirm to perform their duties. The result of this representation was that Government sanctioned considerable reforms. In 1815 a European Superintendent was appointed. He does not appear to have continued in that office; for the resuscitation of the post was proposed in 1820 after it had been found that the college was doing very little good. Some improvement seems to have resulted and in January 1821 we hear of an examination of the students at which "public disputations in grammar, logic, philosophy, metaphysics and law took place before all the European gentlemen of the station, both civil and military, and a numerous party of the most distinguished natives

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* *Evidence of 1832, App. I.* [196/396].

residing at or near Benares. It was concluded by an address in Sanskrit delivered by the Secretary (Lieutenant Fell), and by the committee awarding prizes to the most distinguished scholars."* On the death of Lieutenant Fell—" a profound Sanskrit scholar "—the college appears again to have sunk into obscurity.

The Hindu Sanskrit College at Calcutta with which document 14 deals is described in Chapter V (p. 78), since its history aptly illustrates the early controversies between the orientalists and occidentalists. It may be stated here that it was opened in 1824 in place of the proposed colleges at Nadia and Tirhut, the establishment of which had been finally abandoned in 1821. It is not to be confused with the Calcutta Vidyalaya (also known under the names, Anglo-Indian College, Maha-Patshala, Hindu College or Native Hindu College—see pages 78, 86, 87 and 183) which was opened in 1817, and which has since developed into the Presidency College. The Presidency College may be looked upon as a continuation of the senior department of the Vidyalaya, while the Hare school is similarly a direct successor of its junior department. In 1823 a proposal for the common teaching of science to the students of the Sanskrit and Hindu Colleges was made (document No. 23) and on the foundation of the Presidency College this arrangement was continued. The Sanskrit College and the Madrassa still exist as separate institutions. The buildings of these institutions figure as frontispieces to this volume. The Sanskrit College is rather confusingly called the Hindu College.

Although it is hardly relevant to the general history of educational development in India, the College of Fort William deserves some mention, as a striking educational institution of the time and as the subject of various interesting documents. The Marquis of Wellesley, impressed with the " sloth, indolence, low debauchery and vulgarity," which too often grew upon the younger servants of the Company, decided that they should have a proper education in Calcutta. The details regarding the foundation of the college are to be found in the Wellesley Despatches, volume II, pages 325 *et seq*. The Court of

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* *Evidence of 1832, App. I.* [203/400].

Directors took strong exception to the foundation of this expensive institution, which narrowly escaped immediate extinction. In 1806 the East India College at Haileybury was founded, whence the writers proceeded to the college at Fort William. A brief account of both institutions is extracted (document No. 13) from the report on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832. The Fort William College was abolished in 1854 and the Haileybury institution was finally closed in 1857.

(*11*) *At a Committee for the management of the Hindoo College at Benares on the 1st January 1804.**

PRESENT:

Mr. T. BROOKE, *Acting President.*

Mr. G. ARBUTHNOT }
Captain WILFORD } *Members.*

Minute of the Acting President.

Although it is the first time I have had the honor to meet the Gentlemen o' the College Committee and will in all probability be the last, yet the interest I feel in the success of an institution which originally held out so much to promise and might still be rendered of great public utility, induces me to call to the notice of the Committee the disrepute into which the College of Benares has been suffered to fall, disrepute so notorious that it is forced on conviction from the slightest view of the perversion that exists. *Benares College. Mr. Brooke's Minute, 1804.*

2. The College, instead of being looked up to by the natives with respect and veneration, is an object of their ridicule; instead of an assemblage of learned Hindoos, it resembles a band of pensioners, supported by the charity of Government.

3. To pretend to trace to its source the various causes which have led to this perversion is a task to which I confess myself unequal, but the experience of the past renders it evident that the reform must be radical, and that the Rules of the College if not totally changed must be completely new modelled; if this is not done I am decidedly of opinion it would be advisable to recommend to Government the abolition of the institution.

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* Printed in *Sketch of the rise and progress of the Benares Patshalla or Sanskrit College, etc.*, by G. NICHOLLS, pp. 9-13.

Mr. Brooke's Minute, 1804— contd.

4. It was the object of Mr. Duncan under whose auspices the institution was founded to leave to the Rector the sole management and discipline of the College; by this precaution he expected that the Hindoos, on finding themselves unshackled by the control of Europeans, which their apprehensions might lead them to suppose would interfere with their ceremonies and religious prejudices, would flock to the college to receive instruction, and that the Professors would in time become ornaments to the sciences they had been selected to teach.

5. In conformity to this intention, when Mr. Duncan left Benares, the College remained without any European Superintendence, but the consequences that resulted turned out the very reverse of Mr. Duncan's expectations; for no sooner was Mr. Duncan gone, than the Rector assuming all the powers of his uncontrolled discipline, reduced the allowances which had been assigned to the Professors whilst he continued to draw from Government the full amount of their stipends; vacancies of Professorships were filled up by men of little learning and less respectability, and many of the pupils whose maintenance was charged to Government had existence only in the Rector's pay rolls.

6. To settle the disputes which had arisen from these various abuses, Government were pleased to constitute the present Committee and at its representation the Rector was expelled; but although this occurred in April 1801, no successor has yet been appointed and the College remains without any regular head—the person who now superintends having been only appointed to the temporary charge and being pronounced by Captain Wilford deficient in that learning and that respectability which alone could entitle him to fill the vacancy.

7. It is to be lamented so long a period has elapsed without attempting a reform but even now that I am strenuously pressing it to the consideration of the Committee, I confess I entertain doubts whether the Committee are invested with powers to make those arrangements and alterations which are likely to render the institution respectable and useful.

8. Should the Gentlemen of the Committee entertain the same doubt the first step to be taken is an application to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, the Visitor and Patron of the College, soliciting His Excellency to invest the Committee with full powers to make those arrangements and alterations as in their judgment and experience may be deemed essential.

9. In framing an address for this purpose to His Excellency, it will be proper His Excellency should be made acquainted with the outline of the plan which is to form the subject of deliberation of the Committee.

10. Without the assistance of the Gentlemen of the Committee I feel myself unequal to enter into a detail of the various points to which the attention of the Committee must be directed, but I shall cheerfully submit my suggestions on the

outline, in the confidence that their amendments and additions may lead to the accomplishment of that end which so justly calls for united exertion and unabated perseverance.

Mr. Brooke's Minute, 1804—contd.

11. In the first place, it will be expedient to frame a set of Rules which are to comprise the controlling authority and specific duty of the Committee; the Regulations for the College discipline; the power of the Rector and the duty of the Professors.

12. As the fund appropriated by Government for the support of the College amounts only to 20,000 Rupees annually, it is my opinion the branches of learning to be taught in the College should be so limited as to enable the Committee to pay liberal salaries to the Professors in those sciences that may be the object of their selection. This plan would ensure the assistance of the most learned of the Pundits, and which cannot be the case if the institution is made to exceed the means by which it is supported; as any increase to the number of Professors must operate to the reduction in the salaries of the whole.

13. As a further encouragement to learned Pundits seeking to gain admission into the college, the excellent suggestion made by Captain Wilford of pensioning the Pundits when they become old and too infirm to perform their duties should be reduced to practice.

14. For this purpose the fixed and casual expenses of the College should be formed on a scale to leave an annual saving out of the 20,000 Rupees granted by Government and which saving would form a fund whence the proposed pensions might be supplied, and as I believe the full sum allowed by Government has not for some years past been expended on the College, it would be advisable to solicit Government to permit the difference between the annual disbursement and the annual allowance being appointed towards this fund. The surplus annual saving might be invested in Government paper or remaining in the hands of the Collector, Government might be solicited to allow an interest of 8 per cent on the amount, by which it is to be expected it would become an increasing fund, from whence other contingencies incidental to the institution might be defrayed.

15. Captain Wilford from his profound acquirement in the Sanscrit, being duly competent to report on the qualification of the Pundits who may be candidates for professorships, should be invited to give his assistance on this point, and he will I trust acquiesce in the solicitation that I now avail myself of preferring to him.

16. To assist Captain Wilford in an undertaking on which the prosperity of the college so immediately depends I propose that a Committee of four of the most learned Bramins that are to be met with at Benares should be invited to lend their assistance in attending on Captain Wilford in the examination of the candidates that may offer themselves for professorships.

Mr. Brooke's Minute, 1804—concld.

17. It is also proposed that none of the present Professors excepting those who were originally appointed by Mr. Duncan, shall be continued in their station, unless approved of by Captain Wilford assisted by the proposed Committee of Bramins and reported by them qualified, by their learning and the respectability of their character for the station of Professors.

18. The number of pupils under each Professor, the allowance to be granted them for their maintenance, the examinations that are to be made and a variety of other subordinate points are not enlarged on here, as they will be naturally comprised in the rules which I have suggested should be framed for the college discipline.

19. I cannot close my long intrusion on the Committee in a more satisfactory manner than by suggesting an application to Mr. Henry Colebrooke, Professor of Sanscrit and of the Hindu Laws in the College of Fort William, soliciting him to recommend to the College Committee of Benares some learned Bramin who in his opinion may be equal to the duty of Rector and deserving of being appointed to that station.

(Sd.) T. BROOKE,

Acting President.

COLLEGE COMMITTEE,

1st January 1804.

(12) *Accounts of the Calcutta Madrassa, September 1823.*

STATEMENT OF THE SALARIES AND WAGES DUE TO THE OFFICERS, STUDENTS AND SERVANTS OF THE MADRASSA, INCLUDING CONTINGENCIES FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1823.

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Secretary		500 0 0
Native Assistant to the Secretary		100 0 0
Teachers.		
Moolavee Mohammed Saeed, Head Preceptor	300 0 0	
,, Wazeer Ali, First under Preceptor	100 0 0	
,, Fazloor Rahman, Second under Preceptor	80 0 0	
,, Abdul Majeed, Third under Preceptor	60 0 0	
,, Aajut Ali, Fourth under Preceptor	60 0 0	
		600 0 0

STATEMENT OF THE SALARIES AND WAGES DUE TO THE OFFICERS, STUDENTS AND SERVANTS OF THE MADRASSA, INCLUDING CONTINGENCIES, FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1823—*contd.*

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Students, 1st class, at 15 Rupees each.		
17 present the whole month	255 0 0	
1 for 20 days	10 0 0	
1 for 7 days	3 8 0	
		268 8 0
Students, 2nd class, at 10 Rupees each.		
32 present the whole month	320 0 0	
1 for 5 days	1 10 8	
		321 10 8
Students, 3rd class, at 8 Rupees each.		
23 present the whole month		184 0 0
Servants.		
1 Khatib	20 0 0	
1 Librarian	32 0 0	
1 Hakim	40 0 0	
1 Mouzen	10 0 0	
1 Hurkara	5 0 0	
1 Maulee	4 0 0	
3 Durwans at Rs. 4 each	12 0 0	
2 Sweepers at Rs. 4 each	8 0 0	
1 Sub-sweeper	2 0 0	
1 Writer and stationery for library	30 0 0	
1 Dafturee	8 0 0	
2 Bhistis	10 0 0	
		181 0 0
Contingent charges.		
Oil	2 8 0	
For repairing a door of Madrassa	1 0 0	
6 Earthen water pots for maulee	0 3 6	
		3 11 6
TOTAL SICCA RS.		2,158 14 2

(Two thousands one hundred and fifty-eight and fourteen annas and two pies.)

(Sd.) M. LUMSDEN,

Secretary, M. C.

MADRASSA,

The 3rd October 1823.

(13) *Extract from the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832.**

EDUCATION : CIVIL SERVICE.

Haileybury and the College of Fort William.

Concerning the qualifications required from a writer, previously to his appointment, the evidence is not very specific; they are fixed by regulations framed by the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners. On an average young men proceed to India at the age of 18 : 22 is recommended as the most eligible age.

It is stated by the Principal, whose evidence is very full and detailed, that the design of the East India College at Haileybury, which was established in 1806, was to supply the great body of civil servants with an amount of qualification commensurate with the extent and importance of their functions in India, which qualification could not, at the time that the College was founded, have been otherwise procured. The nature of the combined course of study, the impracticability of acquiring it without a special institution, more particularly for oriental literature, and the tests required of the parties nominated, all form subjects of evidence. It is considered that it would be advisable to increase the age of students, by admitting them between the ages of 18 and 22. The Act of 1826 is believed not to have answered the expectations of its authors, and to have shaken and mutilated the whole Collegiate system. The College, it is stated by the Principal, has had various difficulties to contend with, but has, in a great measure, fairly answered what could reasonably have been expected from it on its original foundation; and it is held that, with revised tests, and some modifications in its present machinery, it would be competent to stand even against the Universities of England, in so far as relates to the due qualification of Civil Servants for India. The proficiency of the scholars is well attested by those who have experienced its benefits and watched its progress. The capabilities are pointed out which the College possesses, of admitting alterations, so as to render the education more efficient and satisfactory; and other modes of qualification for the Civil Service are suggested. It is maintained that the Civil Servants have been better educated since the establishment of the College than they were before; and the fact, that the most important posts have been filled in India by those who have been most distinguished for proficiency at Haileybury is adduced in proof of this opinion: while the tenor of other parts of the evidence would show, that where the operation of the system has not been absolutely

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* London. Printed by order of the Honourable Court of Directors, January 1833, pp. 28-30.

prejudicial to the habits and views of the students, every object contemplated by the College might have been more effectually obtained by other means. *Haileybury and the College of Fort William—* contd.

On arriving in India, the young men of the Bengal service enter the College at Calcutta, with the view of perfecting themselves in languages, the elements of which have been acquired at Haileybury, where the education is of a more general nature. While at the College at Calcutta, they are maintained at the Company's expense. Of this institution (which was from the commencement strongly objected to by the Court of Directors, on the score of expense) it is remarked, that " it has been a source of more debt than knowledge in the Civil Service, and an expensive establishment for the end proposed." It was not uncommon in former times for young men to leave the College with a debt of from 50,000 to a lakh of rupees; but this evil may in part be attributed to the mode of appointment. The institution has lately undergone a revision. It has been useful in providing books, by which the acquisition of the native languages has been greatly facilitated, but beyond this it is considered that the institution is disadvantageous to the public service. If abolished, its buildings might be converted to public offices.

It appears that the study of languages is most readily promoted by sending the young men, directly on their arrival, into the Provinces, and attaching them to some public office, as was formerly the practice.

At Bombay there is no institution corresponding to that at Calcutta. At Madras there is a Collegiate institution, but no European professors, as formerly at Calcutta; the examiners are gentlemen in the Company's civil service, but they receive no pay. Proficiency in the native languages is made a condition of promotion.

With a view to raise the standard of attainment, and afford fuller scope for selection, not only is public competition in England recommended, but it is also proposed, with the same view, that the whole service should be originally military. Among other objections against this plan, it is urged that it evinces a total departure from the principles at present laid down by the Legislature for conducting the two branches of Indian service.*

(14) *Report on the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 31st January 1835.*

GENTLEMEN,

PERMIT me to submit to you the usual report of the annual examination of the students as well as of the general state of the Sanskrit College. *Sanskrit College, Calcutta.*

* See also *Appendix L* to the 1832 report; and also *Memorials of old Haileybury College,* p. 237-242.

Sanskrit College, Calcutta—contd.

The College at the end of the year 1834 contains 181 students, 97 of whom receive a monthly stipend of from 5 to 8 Rupees from Government. They are, as formerly, divided into 10 Sanskrit classes under 10 Pundits and into 7 English Classes under 3 Teachers as follows :—

Classes.		Students.
3	Sanskrit Grammar Classes composed of	78
1	" class of Literature (Sahitya) composed of	28
1	" " Rhetoric (Alankara) composed of	16
1	" " Mathematics (Jyotish) composed of	12
1	" " Logic (Nyaya) composed of	7
1	" " Vedanta composed of	6
1	" " Law (Smriti) composed of	21
1	" " Medical (Vaidya) composed of	13
10		181

The seven English Classes are composed of 83 students of the above divisions.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I have to report to you at the end of the year 1834 the same general good conduct and satisfactory progress of the Sanskrit College which I had the honour to bring to your notice in my last annual report. I have only to repeat my previous commendation of the zeal and ability of the teachers and of the proficiency of the students in the 8 Sanskrit and 7 English classes which I have examined.

I beg to annex the report by Dr. Tytler of his examination of the Mathematical and Medical classes, which is as favourable as that of last year; and that of Dr. Grant, the lecturer of Anatomy and Medicine. Mr. Sutherland proposed on the part of the Committee of Examination of Law officers several law questions which have been answered in writing by the students; his report of their performances has been laid before the Committee.

To these reports is joined that of the English classes by Mr. M. W. Woollaston. This meritorious professor has added a table of rules concerning discipline in which I entirely concur.

You will find also his report of the translation class composed of three translators who draw an extra allowance of Rs. 4 each a month; as well as an enumeration of the works hitherto translated and of others proposed to be translated. I beg to refer to my memorandum presented to you when the establishment of a translation class was proposed by me and sanctioned by you. I am happy to say that the success of this small class has entirely answered your expectations, and I beg to add that since its commencement I have been confirmed in my opinion of the usefulness of translating good English works into Sanskrit. As no way whatever ought to be neglected to communicate sound ideas of Science and morality to the Hindus, and as the thorough reform of a nation can be effected only by

attempting it by all legitimate means, direct and indirect, I venture to think that among those means that of gaining the attention of the learned Hindus by translations into a language which they prefer to all and exclusively cultivate, is certainly not the least efficacious. *Sanskrit College, Calcutta*—contd.

After having had the honour of superintending as Secretary the Sanskrit College during 2 years and 8 months, I beg leave to submit to you as concisely as I can the result of my observations upon the general tenor of the studies pursued in this public Institution.

The course of instruction pursued at the Sanskrit College is (as stated in the last printed report on the Colleges and Schools for native education) divided into two branches. The first is intended to give a command of the language, the second of such branches of Hindu Science as may be an object to the student, especially law.

The acquisition of Sanskrit is indispensable, not only for the study of the classical books composed in that language, but principally as the mother language of a great number of Indian dialects, especially of the Bengalee. For it is by the knowledge of the first that the last must be improved and enriched to whatever extent it may be required to express all philosophical and scientific ideas, and to communicate therefore to the great mass of the people the new stores of philosophy, science, arts and morals which they are expected to derive from an acquaintance with western civilisation. It is obvious that a true and radical reform of a nation in learning and morality (which is the object of a good government) will begin and proceed with the improvement of their own national language. In this respect the study of Sanskrit cannot be sufficiently encouraged, since by this means the Bengalee dialect among others may be brought to a degree of perfection at least equal to that which the Italian, Spanish, French, English and other languages have more or less obtained from the Latin.

The acquisition of Sanskrit appears perfectly insured by the method of teaching grammar practised in the college. It is generally acknowledged that this highly refined language has been fixed by the most accurate rules, and is taught by most ingenious methods which might with reason be censured for taxing the memory of the learner too severely, were they not purposely calculated for very young disciples to whom the exercise of memory is a paramount requisite in all future pursuits.

The efficacy of the Hindu method of teaching the Sanskrit grammar is evinced in the firmness and security which the students almost without exception acquire in the knowledge and use of the mechanism of the language. After having completed the course of grammar (the period of which is fixed at from 2 to 3 years) they find themselves enabled to understand with facility the compositions of their poets and to enunciate without hesitation the most complicated phrases in which

Sanskrit College, Calcutta—contd

an enigmatic turn and arrangement of words, according to a peculiar taste of Hindu writers, has been aimed at as a perfection. This almost general capacity of Hindu boys will astonish those who have witnessed among European youths the great difficulty and rare proficiency in mastering the much less obscure and complicated style of the Latin and Greek, and even of their own national poetry. I do not hesitate to say that in the method of teaching the Sanskrit grammar there is no occasion for any change in the Sanskrit College.

From the grammar classes the students enter that of general literature (called Sahitya) consisting mostly of poetical works, to which two years are allowed, and then that of rhetoric (Alankara) in which the theory of figurative language and literary composition is taught. This takes up another year. As among the Hindus the limits of poetry and rhetoric are by no means defined, the study of the two last classes is properly speaking but one, and if the number of the students is not very great, one teacher may be sufficient, and the period of time reduced from 3 to 2 years.

After the course of literature the students are required to study mathematics according to the old Hindu methods which, although very ingenious and more than adequate to the common exigencies of life, are less perfect than those derived amongst us from a much more improved condition of mathematical science than the Hindus ever attained. As a part of Hutton's Mathematics translated into Sanskrit has already begun to be used as a class book, the students will enjoy the benefit of an improved doctrine without being strangers to their national science the terms of which at least, as part of the languages, ought to be known to them. A year is given to the mathematical pupils who are at the same time obliged either to attend an English class or to apply to Sanskrit logic (Nyaya).

Hitherto no treatise of the Western philosophy has been translated into Sanskrit which could be recommended as a class book to the Hindu students in conjunction with their own philosophical works. The last containing the fundamental principles of perhaps all systems of Philosophy hitherto known, and a richness of metaphysical terms which surpasses that of all other languages are by themselves not unworthy of the veneration of the Hindus, and with respect to antiquity and originality cannot fail greatly to interest the investigator of the history of the human intellect.

The study of law (Smriti) which is commenced after the completion of the course of poetry, rhetoric, and mathematics, offers itself as the most important branch of Sanskrit learning inasmuch as it is connected with the manifold concerns of practical life. The students read a number of classical law books and qualify themselves to answer the various questions of law. A commission of examina-

tion appointed by Government tries the proficiency of the pupils and grants certificates of Panditship to the deserving candidates. *Sanskrit College, Calcutta*—contd.

A period of six years is allowed to the youths who have passed through the classes of grammar, literature, rhetoric and mathematics to complete their studies of philosophy and law. Considering that the confined number of class books hitherto accessible in the college do not sufficiently occupy the upper classes, the period may, in my opinion, be reduced to 3, and the whole period of studies in the Sanskrit College which has hitherto been 12 years, may by a proper distribution of time and matter be reduced to 8, allowing 5 to grammar, literature and mathematics, and 3 to law and philosophy.

The students belonging to the medical caste of the Hindus have the choice instead of entering the class of logic, to attend the medical lectures of the Sanskrit as well as of the English lecturer on medicine, and they do not study the law. As their object is to follow the profession of their fathers, they cannot but wish to acquaint themselves with the Hindu practice of physic and with the sorts of medicines most easily obtainable and most generally used in this country, on which account the study of Sanskrit medical books becomes indispensable to this class. Being acquainted with them only as a Superintendent of their Sanskrit learning, I feel great pleasure in bearing testimony that some of the best Sanskrit scholars of the college belong to the medical class.

The study of the English language has hitherto been left optional to the pupils of the Sanskrit College and I beg leave to express my conviction that it is expedient to leave it so. The inducement to acquire the language of the rulers of the country is already so vastly extended and so greatly productive of effect among the Hindus, that it does not require any addition, whilst any appearance either of coercion or of a political or religious design on the part of Government would alarm those Hindus who preserve a somewhat too rigid and exclusive adherence to their ancient and sacred language and customs. This adherence, in itself natural and legitimate, is in the present instance not only innocuous, but very useful: for if the Sanskrit language is worth preserving, by whom will it be better preserved than by a certain number of those who are exclusively devoted to it? Nor even if none of the Sanskrit students, nearly one half of whom now learn English, applied to that language, would the number of about 400 students in the two Sanskrit Colleges of Calcutta and Benares appear too great from a population of 54 millions contained in the Bengal Presidency. I may add that to render the acquisition of English imperative in the Sanskrit College will most likely induce a number of the non-paid students to leave it.

The course of elementary instruction pursued by the English classes of the college, being only less extensive on account of the portion of time occupied by

Sanskrit College, Calcutta—concld.

Sanskrit studies; it will of course participate in all the progressive improvements which may be introduced into the latter.

The admission to the Sanskrit College was, conformably with the views of Government, most liberally granted to all boys qualified by some knowledge of Bengalee letters, without exclusion of scarce any caste of the Hindus. The scholarships were bestowed on poverty joined to diligence and proficiency in study. The munificence of Government allowing about 100 scholarships, considered merely as such, is, I dare believe, well employed, and a perpetual theme of grateful praise among the natives. I cannot terminate this article without mentioning the name of Baboo Ramcomul Sen, one of the managers of the Hindu College, who, animated with the noble desire of being useful to his countrymen, shunned no trouble and spared no time to afford me his disinterested assistance, not only in the selection of the boys to be admitted and of those most recommendable for scholarships in consideration of their private circumstances, but also in superintending the Sanskrit library, procuring valuable manuscripts, conducting the interior economy of the College, and tendering me his advice for keeping up the discipline, and promoting the general success of the institution.

I have, etc,

(Sd.) A. TROYER,

Secretary to the Government Sanskrit College.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE,

31st January 1835.

CHAPTER IV.

Mass Education and Organisation.

The efforts of the Company's servants had hitherto been mainly concentrated on higher institutions for the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic. Lord Hastings had declared that the strength of the Government in India must be based not on the ignorance but on the enlightenment of the people. But efforts in the direction of founding common schools of instruction in the vernacular had for the most part emanated from missionaries. There were the Tanjore schools founded by Swartz, those at Cuddalore founded by Kiernander, and others.* In Bengal there were Marshman's schools for the people and May's Chinsura schools † which in 1816 numbered thirty with over 2,000 pupils. In Bombay a Society for promoting the education of the poor was formed as the result of a voluntary assembly of the inhabitants of that city which took place in the vestry room (1815); donations created a fund of Rs. 20,000; the Court of Directors gave a monthly grant of Rs. 500; and schools were established both for Christians and for natives.‡ A little later, in 1817 and 1819 respectively, the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society were founded, for the diffusion of useful elementary knowledge and the establishment of native schools throughout the country. Both received grants from Government. Howell says of the grant to the latter that it was "the first recognition on the part of the Home Government of the claims of education for the masses."§

* The 1787 despatch to Madras (pp. 3, 4 above) says that Swartz "prevailed on the Rajah of Tanjore ......to establish schools for teaching English," but Fisher [220/412] only speaks of instructing the natives; and G. Smith in his *Short History of Christian Missions* (p. 143) terms them vernacular schools.

† *Evidence of 1832*, App. I [206/403].

‡ *Ibidem* [229/418].

§ *Education in British India*, p. 13.

That grant was made in 1823 (a year which in more ways than one marks a turning point in the history of Indian education). It was about this time too that the attention of the Company's servants began to be seriously turned to the villages and the mass of the people.

In July 1822 Sir Thomas Munro recommended that information should be obtained of the state of education in the provinces under the Madras Government. The result, as already stated (page 3), showed 188,650 under instruction out of a population of 12,850,941. In January 1825 the Governor and Council of Bombay recorded reports from some districts in that presidency, from which we learn that the proportion of pupils under instruction to the population was 1 in 133. The details of these two surveys are embodied in Fisher's memoir. The memoir also gives the results of similar reports in other parts of India. In September 1823 the Committee of Public Instruction (Bengal) asked local agents for information about existing education (document No. 19). To this enquiry there are no specific replies recorded, but certain of the information which was collected is embodied in the first report of the Committee, written by H. H. Wilson in 1831. Later (1835-1838) W. Adam's reports on the state of education in Bengal give certain facts relating to indigenous education. For one division Adam's figures show that from 2½ to 16 per cent. of the population between the ages of 5 and 14 were receiving instruction in different localities.

These surveys revealed a lamentable decay in learning, the number of its votaries and its quality. In the course of the Madras survey indeed, a report was received from Mr. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, which is not altogether pessimistic about the instruction imparted, though he comments on the paucity of scholars, the poor quality of books studied, the fact that their language was often quite unintelligible to the readers, and the inability of the teachers. An extract is reprinted as document No. 18. But the tone adopted is generally gloomy, as in Lord Moira's minute contained in the last chapter, and in Adam's report on Bengal.

The causes of this decay were difficult to assign in view of the lack of information regarding the earlier conditions of education. A general idea prevailed that there had been retrogression. Lord Moira (document No. 9) observed the numerous grants made by native governments for education and deplored their diversion to the private property of individuals. The Collector of Bellary, already quoted, ascribed this to the competition of foreign goods, the movement of troops and the substitution of European for native rule, which, despite a less rigorous enforcement of the revenue, had impoverished the country. Sir Thomas Munro, too, entertained no doubt that education had been better in earlier times, but, writing in 1826, stated that "it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence of the shifting of the population, from war and other causes." Nor, taking into consideration the facts that the female population is almost wholly destitute of education and that many children are under private tuition, does he take an unhopeful view of the situation. He estimates the number of those under instruction to be nearer one-third than one-fourth of the male population of school-going age, and "low as the state of education in India is admitted to be, compared with that of our own country, it is even now, he thinks, higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant dates." But it is to be noted that Sir Thomas Munro calculated only one-ninth of the male population as of school-going age. Adam, on the other hand, says of Bengal: "I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that in any other country subject to an enlightened government, and brought into direct and constant contact with European civilization, in an equal population, there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district."*

Such divergent views were only natural. The condition of the country can hardly have permitted of very accurate reports either of pupils or of population. The data for comparison with an earlier age

* ADAM'S *Reports on Vernacular Education.* Ed. by Rev .T. Long, p. 137.

were lacking. The present was separated from the past by the welter of confusion which succeeded the breakdown of the Moghul Empire. "The increasing wars," as Lord Moira said, "which had harassed all parts of India, left everywhere their invariable effects." The Company had at first been engaged in trade at certain centres. The disturbed state of the country had forced it into interference and finally into the administration of ever-extending dominions. During this later phase its hands had been full with the suppression of lawlessness. While still in the midst of this task and on the eve of entering on some of its most critical struggles, it had recognised the claims of education by allocating a grant, and at a still earlier date had been at trouble to maintain seats of oriental learning. It was not till 1823-24 that it could pause to look round and take stock of the situation from a broader point of view. In that year the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, wrote as follows :*—

"With regard to the education of the poor, that must in all stages of society be in a good measure the charge of the Government; even Adam Smith (the political writer of all others who has put the strictest limits to the interference of the executive Government, especially in education) admits the instruction of the poor to be among the necessary expenses of the Sovereign, though he scarcely allows any other expense except for the defence of the nation and the administration of justice."

In that year, too, the amount of the revenue disbursed for education suddenly rose from £7,208 to £21,884 and increased the next year to £66,563.†

The surveys described above were set afoot. Finally, where this had not already been done, steps were taken to organise administrative machinery which should deal systematically with the grants and investigate the needs of the country.

At the conclusion of this chapter are printed as documents Nos. 16 and 17 a letter of July 1823 appointing a general committee of public

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* *Evidence of 1832, App. I, No. 22* [375/518].

† *See* the resolution, dated 17th January 1824 (document No. 20). This resolution decides that "the assignment of the lac of rupees shall take effect from the year just mentioned (1821-22), and that for each of the years 1821-22, 1822-23 the sum of Rs. 83,200 shall be carried to the credit of the Committee of Instruction."

instruction for the Bengal Presidency and a note, which inspired that letter, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie; also the letter which, in September of the same year, the Committee issued to local Agents (document No. 19) and the Governor General's Resolution of January 1824 (document No. 20). Campbell's report on education in Bellary written in 1823 (document No. 18) and Sir Thomas Munro's Minute of 1826 (document No. 21) give an account of the state of education in the Madras Presidency and of the means taken to improve it. These will serve to indicate the intention and scope of the operations.

Noticeable among these symptoms of recognition of the claims of the masses is the emphasis early laid upon the training of teachers. Writing of the reports made in Bombay in 1825 Mr. Secretary Farish says:*—

"It seems one of the greatest objections to establishing numerous new schools at once, that the persons who would be employed, might be expected (from the experience we have already acquired) to oppose or to neglect the introduction of any improvements whether in the matter or the manner of instruction, without a much more vigilant European superintendence than could possibly be afforded. A great delay in the establishing of schools at the presidency has arisen from the necessity of educating the school master in the first instance, and a number of youths are with that view under instruction. If, therefore, it be resolved, that Government should assist in establishing schools where they are not, the first step for rendering them really useful would be to collect youths for the purpose of instructing them according to a proper system, and in proper books and branches of knowledge, and after they have attained sufficient to qualify them for the duty at a school which can be ably superintended, to appoint them to the schools for which they have been selected.

With such masters the improved system will be carried on; by the influence of the same motive which in the other masters would oppose improvement, they would teach in the manner in which they had been taught, in the only way they understood.

The extension of education by this means might not be so great in the first three years, as it would be by establishing at once schools with such masters as are now to be met with, but after that it would extend as speedily and much more

* *Evidence of 1832, App. I* [240/426].

efficiently. It would not, however, be without difficulty, for it will probably meet with opposition from the present teachers."

In March 1825 the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal as follows :*—

"We recently sanctioned a grant of similar amount to the Calcutta School Book Society, and on the same grounds we have no hesitation in sanctioning the present grant. The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction an arrangement of still greater importance, for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. The last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend. By training up therefore a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India, far exceeding that which any elementary instruction, that could be immediately bestowed, would have any chance of reaching."

Similarly in the case of Madras (a Presidency in which the training of teachers has always been regarded as of the highest importance), the Court of Directors, in their despatch of the 16th April 1828,† applauded Sir Thomas Munro's proposal to establish a school for that purpose; and, in 1836, the Secretary to the Committee for Native Education laid before Government an elaborate scheme for a normal school.‡

Such were the reviews made of the education of the masses and the plans for its dissemination and improvement. The excellent intentions of those who initiated these movements were defeated by the vastness of the task, the paucity of available funds and growing demands for concentration of effort upon institutions of higher learning. The theory of the downward permeation of knowledge prevailed—largely, one suspects, because the opposite theory led to impossible paths.§ The subject of mass education belongs more properly to later volumes of

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* Sec. 38 of the despatch of 9th March 1825. Printed in the *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 7 [332/488].

† *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 19 [360-508]; *Madras Selections, ii, 1855*, XXIII.

‡ *Madras Selections, ii. 1855*, XCIX.

§ Document No. 17, included in this chapter, illustrates the theory.

this series. But it is permissible to touch on the typical happenings in Madras. Sir Thomas Munro (document No. 21) proposed two schools of a superior type in each Collectorate and one school in each of 300 tahsildaris. (His remarks about the sufficiency of the pay of tahsildari school masters are particularly interesting; it was pitched at Rs. 9 a month, supplemented by an equal amount from fees, the rate of which was surprisingly high.) The Court of Directors, in their despatch of the 16th April 1828, approved this plan and authorised the gradual appropriation of Rs. 50,000 for the new system of education. But, in a subsequent despatch of the 29th September 1830,* they complained of the failure of that system to provide for higher education. The Directors wrote as follows:—

* * * * * *

"By the measures originally contemplated by your Government, no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already existed, and an improvement of its quality by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the native languages was all that was then aimed at. It was indeed proposed to establish at the Presidency a central school for the education of teachers, but the teachers were to be instructed only in those elementary acquirements which they were afterwards to teach in the Tahsildari and Collectorate schools.

"The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the people, are those which concern the education of the higher classes; of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.

"You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives, qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The

* *Evidence of 1832, App. I,* No. 21 [364/511]; *Madras Selections, ii, 1855,* XXVII.

measures for native education, which have as yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency, have had no tendency to produce such persons."

The measures taken in Bengal for the education of the higher classes in English were held up as worthy of imitation and the desire expressed that similar measures should be adopted in Madras. In a minute, dated the 12th December 1839,* Lord Elphinstone stated that the endeavours made in the Presidency to introduce a general system of education had produced nothing but disappointment and that their discontinuance had been ordered. "A new direction was to be given to our efforts, and the plan which had been found to succeed in Bengal and Bombay was to be introduced, with such modifications as local circumstances might require at Madras." Among the principal points urged upon the attention of the Madras authorities by the Supreme Government and the General Committee was "the discontinuance of the system of frittering away the sums allowed for educational purposes, upon more elementary schools and upon eleemosynary scholars." These instructions read strangely. The main reason underlying them had already been made clear in a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated the 5th September, 1827.† Speaking of Mr. Fraser's Delhi schools and Dr. Gerard's proposals for the education of the hill people of Sabathu, the Directors said: "From the limited nature of the means at your disposal, you can only engage in very limited undertakings; and where a preference must be made, there can be no doubt of the utility of commencing both at the place of greatest importance, and with the superior and middle classes of the nations, from whom the native agents whom you have occasion to employ in the functions of Government are most fitly drawn, and whose influence on the rest of their countrymen is the most extensive." The upshot of Lord Elphinstone's minute was the proposal to establish at Madras "a central collegiate institution or university," to which no pupils should

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* *Madras Selections ii, 1855,* CXXII.

† *Evidence of 1832, App. I,* No. 8 [333/489]; *Madras Selections, ii, 1855,* XXIX.

be admissible in any department but such as could read and write the English language intelligibly. The documents which occupy the remainder of this volume relate mainly to the initiation and pursuit of the policy of introducing modern education.

(15) *Resolution, dated the 17th July, 1823.**

Resolution constituting the Committee of Public Instruction, 1823.

In pursuance of the intention already announced in the orders passed on the report recently received from the Madrissa Committee, the Governor General in Council resolves, that there shall be constituted a General Committee of Public Instruction for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education in this part of India, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character.

2. The Governor General in Council is also pleased to resolve, that the correspondence of Government with the Committee to be appointed as above, and with the other Committees, which may be maintained for the management of individual institutions, shall be henceforth conducted by the Persian Secretary to Government.

3. To that officer therefore the detailed instructions of Government to the constitution and duties of the Committee to be appointed as above, to the alterations, which it may consequently become expedient to make in the constitution and functions of the several existing Committees, to the mode in which the correspondence of Government on the subject of public education is to be brought on the records, will be communicated.

4. The Governor General in Council deems it sufficient to record in this Department his Resolution, subject of course to the approval of the Honourable the Court of Directors, to appropriate to the object of public education the sum of one lac of rupees per annum, in addition to such assignments as were made by the British Government, previously to the act of the 53rd of his late Majesty; and likewise of course exclusively of any endowments which may have been, or may be made by individuals, applicable to a like purpose.

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* Printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, VIII, 1914, p. 93; and in part in HOWELL: *Education in India*, prior to 1854, etc., pp. 13-14.

Resolution of 17th July, 1823—concld.

5. Ordered that the necessary communication be made to the Persian Secretary to Government, and that that officer be furnished from this and other Departments with all necessary papers, relating to the subject of public instruction.

Ordered that a copy of the above Resolution be sent to the several Departments, specified in the margin, for the purpose stated in the last paragraph of it.*

Political Department, Judicial Department, General Department.

(*16*) *Letter, dated 31st July 1823, from Government, appointing members of the General Committee of Public Instruction.*

GENTLEMEN,

Letter of appointment, 31st July 1823.

I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor General in Council has been pleased to appoint you a General Committee of public instruction for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education under the Presidency of Fort William and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestions of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character. Mr. Harington has consented to assume the office and designation of President of your Committee and it is to be understood that the Persian Secretary to Government for the time being will be a Member *ex-officio*. In the absence on public duty or otherwise of the President the senior member will preside at your deliberations assuming the character and designation of Vice-President.

2. For your further information I am desired to transmit herewith copy of the Resolution passed in the Territorial Department on the 17th instant regarding the institution of a Committee of Public Instruction, and the model in which the correspondence of Government on the subject of education is hereafter to be conducted. The same document will apprize you of the funds which it has been determined to appropriate (subject to the approval of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors) to the object of public education.

3. It is unnecessary at this stage of the proceedings to enlarge on the objects contemplated by Government in the institution of your Committee, or on the general views and sentiments at present entertained by the Governor General in

* The first committee was composed of T. H. Harington, J. P. Larkins, W. B. Martin, W. B. Bayley, H. Shakespeare, Holt Mackenzie, H. T. Prinsep, A. Sterling, J. C. C. Sutherland, with H. H. Wilson as Secretary.

Council regarding the most expedient and judicious means of carrying them into effect. The consideration of those topics will naturally arise out of the reports and suggestions to be submitted by you, a primary purpose of which will be to collect a body of facts and opinions, on a comparison and examination of which the only safe and practical conclusions can be formed. I am directed therefore to confine this communication to the following instructions and observations relative to the constitution and functions of your Committee, the object to which your attention should in the first instance be more immediately given and the questions of a general nature which the Government is desirous of referring for your early and deliberate consideration and report.

Letter of appointment, 31st July 1823—contd.

4. The Governor General in Council has resolved that your Committee shall exercise through sub-committees or individual members, as may appear to you most expedient, the superintendence of all the Government seminaries at the Presidency, an arrangement which will, of course, supersede the necessity of maintaining separately the existing Madrissa and Sanskrit College Committees. The Governor General in Council leaves it to your discretion to determine the particular mode of conducting the above branch of your duties, and until this be definitely arranged, the superintendence should be exercised by you collectively, in which case the order of the President and majority of the members will, of course, be sufficient authority for the issue of any instructions on application.

5. To aid you in the management and execution of the detailed business of the office now confided to you, the following secretaries will be immediately appointed, *viz.*, Dr. Lumsden, Secretary in the Madrissa and Mahommedan School Department, with his present allowances; Lieutenant Price, Secretary for the Hindu College and Hindu Schools, with a salary of Rs. 300 per mensem.

6. It appears to Government proper also, that a General Secretary should be appointed to your Committee, and Dr. Wilson, your junior member, will accordingly be requested to undertake the duty. The Governor General in Council has been pleased to assign an allowance of S. Rs. 500 per mensem to be drawn by the gentleman holding the above situation, to cover all charges for office rent and establishment.

7. The correspondence of the Mofussil Committee at Benares, and of any others which may be hereafter established in the Provinces, will be conducted through the General Committee. It will of course be your duty to bring regularly to the notice of the Governor General in Council the annual reports of the local Committees, as also all statements or suggestions which they may be at any time desirous to have communicated to Government with your own sentiments thereupon.

8. The Governor General in Council requests that you will open an early communication with the Local Agents throughout the Provinces, to ascertain

Letter of appointment, 31st July 1823—contd.

what endowments exist in the several districts under this Presidency applicable to purposes of education.

9. The Local Agent at Agra having already submitted in the Territorial Department propositions regarding the appropriation of a fund which it has been determined by Government to apply to purposes of public instruction, you will be pleased to take them into your immediate consideration, more especially those contained in their letter, dated 19th April, 1822. The correspondence on the subject is herewith transmitted in original as per margin.

Letter from the Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the W. P., dated 13th July, 1822, with its several enclosures.

10. You are requested to give your early attention to the completion of the arrangements for the construction of the proposed Hindoo College of Calcutta, and the new Madrissa. In determining finally on the plans of those edifices, you will of course advert fully to any change in their form and distribution which may be required by the change contemplated in the studies and discipline of the institutions, under the resolution of Government, to introduce European science as far as practicable.

11. It will be an especial and material part of your duty to report, after due enquiry and reflection, on the points adverted to in the 7th paragraph of the Resolution of Government in the Territorial Department, dated 21st August, 1821, and also on the different questions of a general nature embraced in the letter of the Madrissa Committee, dated 30th May last, on which the Government reserved its determination. Amongst these, none are of more serious importance than the consideration, in communication with the principal judicial and revenue authorities, how the acquirements of the students at the different seminaries can best be rendered available for the benefit of the public, and again, how the constitution of public offices and the distribution of employments can be made the means of exciting to study and of rewarding merits.

12. The Governor General in Council observes that your Committee cannot, of course, exercise any authority over private schools, but you will naturally communicate with, and encourage all persons, native and European, who may be engaged in the management and support of such institutions, and will afford your assistance in providing for the safe custody and improvement of any funds which may be devoted to the object of education by individuals.

13. The officers of Account will be directed to prepare regular accounts of the receipts and disbursements of all institutions now existing, and will also hereafter carry to the credit of the Committee, a sum equivalent to the amount which Government has resolved to appropriate, deducting the annual expense of institutions established since the new Charter for which funds had not been assigned previous to its enactment.

14. The correspondence which it will be necessary for your committee at present to refer to will be found, with exception to the documents now transmitted, on the records respectively of the Calcutta Madrissa and Sanskrit College Committees.

Letter of appointment, 31st July 1823—concld.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Sd.) A. STIRLING,

Acting Deputy Persian Secretary to Government.

31st July, 1823.

To

The Hon'ble J. H. Harington,
J. P. Larkins, Esq.,
W. B. Martin, Esq.,
W. B. Bayley, Esq.,
H. Shakespeare, Esq.,
H. Mackenzie, Esq.,
H. T. Prinsep, Esq.,
J. C. Sutherland, Esq.,
A. Stirling, Esq., and
H. H. Wilson, Esq.

(17) *Note, dated the 17th July 1823, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie.**

H. Mackenzie's note.

Government being desirous of pursuing a systematic course of proceeding in regard to public education, and having its attention especially directed to the objects specified in the act of the 53d of the late King, I beg leave to submit a few things that have occurred to me on the subject.

The first step is to settle the ultimate object to be aimed at: for otherwise we may debate about the means without end. It is not then I conceive the wish of Government that the people should be merely taught what is necessary to make them expert agents of the civil administration of the country as now administered. It is not desired to keep from them any species of knowledge that can enlighten their minds or improve their moral feelings. Caution indeed must be used in admitting the light to the morbid sense. But the darkness is not the less deplored: nor its ultimate removal the less sought. The probable effects,

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* *Territorial Department, Revenue Consultations, dated 17th July, 1823,* No. 1.

H. Mackenzie's note—contd.

though distant, of the more general diffusion of knowledge are not blinked. But to keep the people weak and ignorant that they may be submissive is a policy which the Government decidedly rejects. Its aim is to raise the character, to strengthen the understanding, to purify the heart ; and whatever therefore can extend the knowledge of the people, whatever can give them a juster conception of the true relation of things, whatever can add to their power over the gifts of nature or better inform them of the rights and duties of their fellow-men, whatever can excite invention and invigorate the judgment, whatever can enrich the imagination and sharpen the wit, whatever can rouse to steady exertion and bind to honest purposes ; whatever fits man to bear and improve his lot, to render his neighbour happy, and his country prosperous ; whatever in short tends to make men wiser and better and happier here and hereafter—all are desired to be given, in due season, to the people of India.

Nothing therefore can be more comprehensive than the design. Its different parts must indeed be filled up gradually and with well measured steps. Its completion we must leave to our children's children. But still if the ultimate object be as I have stated, it follows that the points to be considered in fashioning any scheme for its attainment are infinitely numerous and all very important ; that a good scheme can be the result only of much and anxious thought, earnestly employed with the resources of accurate and varied knowledge. It must at once be considered what the people possess and what they want, what we can give them and what they are capable of receiving profitably, what they are and what they may become, and what their probable participation in the several steps of the great change which a general diffusion of true knowledge will doubtless produce.

To embrace a field so extensive as that of which I have attempted to give a slight sketch, it will obviously be necessary that Government should, as it proposes, seek the aid of a Committee combining a variety of talent and acquirement. And if I have rightly stated the purposes of Government, it follows that the persons to be selected for the duty should be those, who are not only deeply impressed with the importance of the work, but are entirely free from any narrow views, that would lead them to withhold from the people the full measure of knowledge, which they are in the capacity to receive. It follows too, if there be truth and excellence in European science, that the introduction of it among the natives of India, must necessarily be one, and an early part of the general scheme and should authoritatively be indicated by Government as such.

As to the means of instruction, they are obviously very numerous. Different individuals will approve different plans. Some would encourage schools for the elements of learning. Some prefer colleges for the higher branches. Of these, some would encourage existing, others would establish new institutions.

Some would instruct teachers only, some would merely provide books, some would teach the English language, others would look to the introduction of English science through translations. Some would look to the learned classes, others to the wealthy, others to the general community. *H. Mackenzie's note*—contd.

In so wide a range, I cannot pretend to anything like a full conception of the subject. Indeed whatever may be my zeal for the cause (and as a Briton and a Christian it is impossible, I should regard it with indifference) I want the knowledge that would entitle me to decide with any confidence.

I shall be glad to see all the instruments, I have specified, with others that have escaped me, brought into action. But my present impression is, that Government should apply itself chiefly to the instruction of those who will themselves be teachers (including of course in the term many, who never appear as professed masters, and also translators from the European into the native languages) and to the translation, compilation and publication of useful works. These objects being provided for, the support and establishment of colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes seem to me to be more immediate objects of the care of Government than the support and establishment of elementary schools; though these in particular places may claim attention.

To provide for the education of the great body of the people seems to be impossible, at least, in the present state of things. For the ordinary purposes of life, the means of education are not, I imagine, ill supplied, though doubtless the native seminaries are susceptible of much improvement, and this at a cheap rate, by assisting them, both with books and masters. The great body of the people are, however, too poor and too anxious for service to allow their children to remain long under tuition. Moreover the value of the Parish Schools in England, whence we derive our notions of the advantages of general education, depends greatly on the religion of the country. Take from the peasant his Bible, and (if it be possible) the knowledge and sentiments that have flowed from that sacred source, and how worthless will be his lowly literature. The education indeed of the great body of the people can never, I think, be expected to extend beyond what is necessary for the business of life; and it is only therefore through religious exercises, which form a great part of the business of life, that the labourer will turn his thoughts on things above the common drudgery, by which he earns his subsistence. Hence it is under the Christian scheme alone, that I should expect to find the labouring classes really educated: and their station in the scale of instructed and humanized beings will, I imagine, be pretty closely proportioned to their piety. We have no such instrument, with which to work beneficially on the lower orders here. Further the natural course of things in all countries seems to be that knowledge introduced from abroad

H. Mackenzie's note—contd.

should descend from the higher or educated classes and gradually spread through their example. We surely cannot here, at least expect the servant to prize a learning, which his master despises or hates. The influence of Europeans, if they use not the influential classes of the native community, must necessarily be very confined. What is taught in our schools will only be thought of there. Our scholars, if of the common people when they enter the world, will find no sympathy among their fellows, and until the lessons of the master, or professor become the subject of habitual thought and conversation, they cannot touch the heart, they will little affect the understanding. The acquirement will be an act of memory, with little more of feeling or reflection than if nonsense verses were the theme.

Hence my notion is, that the limited classes, who are now instructed (with great labour certainly whatever may be the use) in the learning of the country, should be the first object of attention. This, of course, implies the association of oriental learning with European Science, and the gradual introduction of the latter, without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former. It implies too the support and patronage of existing institutions, so far at least as the furnishing them with Masters and supplying them with translations. And further, if our means suffice, it implies a more positive encouragement to learned Natives, and consists well with the resolution (supposing the funds for the first objects supplied), to establish new institutions for the instruction of natives in the learning of the East, and of the West together.

It will probably be thought sufficient to have two Sanscrit Colleges, for the encouragement of Hindoo literature, and for the instruction of Pundits for our Courts; and, if the Madrissa be thought inadequate to the due diffusion of Mahommedan literature and law, one in the Western provinces would, I should imagine, amply supply the want.

But in fact I should doubt, whether any increase in the number of Government establishments is necessary for these purposes: and the first thing therefore is, I think, to improve those that exist by the introduction of European science.

I do not imagine there will be any difficulty in doing so, if a fit instructor is provided, and proper books supplied. Among the inhabitants of Calcutta at least there seems to be an eagerness for the boon.

The encouragement of Government will also, I believe, readily induce natives to acquire the English language so as to qualify themselves to become translators and teachers.

As to instruction in the English language, it is not easy to fix the limits, to which it should be attempted. Community of language seems to be the surest

means, perhaps the only sure means, of creating community of ideas, and I confess that I am disposed to think the difficulties of the attempt are generally overrated. Persian, it should be recollected, is essentially a foreign language. It may be doubted whether what is recorded in that tongue is much better understood by the generality of the parties interested, than it would be if recorded in English. *H. Mackenzie's note*— contd.

To one party at least the record in English would be an essential gain, the European officer who has to decide the case.

Possibly in the Suburbs Court, a change might be expediently attempted. It would scarcely be consistent to make any effort at general instruction in English, unless the gradual introduction of it as the official language of the country were contemplated.

The question, however, like every one connected with the subject of education is one full of difficulty. I do not presume to offer anything except as hints, on which my own mind is quite unsettled. The necessity of appointing a general Committee of public instruction, who may prepare some well digested scheme, embracing all the different institutions supported, or encouraged by Government, and to whom the various suggestions submitted by individuals may be referred for consideration and report, has been recognized by Government.

It seems clear that in no other way can any comprehensive plan be framed, or systematically pursued: and the general price applicable to the purpose economically and efficiently appropriated. Various detached committees, ill informed of each other's projects, must necessarily waste much labour. They will also probably waste much money from the want of combination.

I have already stated generally the sentiments, with which it seems to me necessary that such a committee should undertake the duty. Government will have little difficulty in selecting individuals influenced by such sentiments and there are many, who add all other necessary qualifications. The selection should, I think, be made with reference to the individual, not (at least not solely) to the office.

On the appointment of a general Committee of Education, it will probably be thought right to modify in some degree the constitution of the Committees charged with the immediate management of the several institutions. They will all of course act, under the directions of the general committee, furnishing to them particular reports of their operations, and submitting through them any suggestions they may see fit to offer for the improvement or wider diffusion of education. For the seminaries at the Presidency indeed it may be unnecessary to maintain separate committees. They will perhaps best be managed by the general committee, either collectively or by certain members specially selected by them, for the management with separate secretaries for the Musulman and

H. Mackenzie's note—contd.

Hindoo colleges to superintend the details of their internal arrangement to control and guide the masters. Without neglecting the consideration due to particular endowments, the General Committee will of course regard all the funds devoted to purposes of education as forming in a certain sense a common stock: more essentially in whatever regards the preparation or publication of useful works. In some of these even the Hindoos and Musulmans may eventually be found to have a common interest, though at first these must necessarily constitute two great divisions, requiring distinct consideration.

It will naturally belong to a committee of public instruction, to ascertain from the different local authorities what funds have been assigned by pious, or philanthropic individuals, for the purpose of supporting seminaries of education: how far the objects of such endowments may have been fulfilled, what means should be taken for securing them, and what modifications in the plans originally contemplated by the founders may be legitimately adopted to meet the altered circumstances of present times.

They cannot of course exercise any authority over private schools, but their advice and encouragement to individuals, Native and European, who may be engaged in the management, or support of such establishments, will be very valuable and probably very highly valued.

Their direct interposition may, indeed, in some cases be sought by individuals, for the security and improvement of funds about to be devoted to purposes of public education.

In framing any rational scheme of public instruction, we must necessarily consider in a general way, at least, how far our other institutions are suited to the state of things, which the diffusion of knowledge may be expected ultimately to produce, and more immediately, how the acquirements of the students at the public seminaries can best be rendered subservient to the public service, and how the constitution of public offices and the distribution of employments can be made—the means of exerting to study and rewarding merit. To those points, therefore, the attention of the committee will be particularly directed: and I should, with some confidence, anticipate from their labours, a great accession, within a moderate time, to the number of persons, who can now be looked to as good instruments of civil government, of which the details must, I apprehend, though our service were multiplied tenfold, be left to the natives of the country.

The several suggestions of a general nature, embraced by the report recently received from the Madrissa Committee, will of course obtain early and particular notice. The plan of the new College which it is proposed to construct in Hastings' Place must be framed with advertence to any charge, or addition likely soon to be made on the scheme of instruction or discipline.

So also the Hindoo College, of which a plan and estimate prepared by Lieutenant Buxton is still with the Military Board (the orders in regard to it having been postponed, until the new square in the centre of the city should be cleared), must I imagine undergo some changes under the resolution of Government to introduce European science even though the general scheme of Sanscrit instruction, suggested by the Committee should still be approved: a point which may be considered open for discussion with the general Committee. *H. Mackenzie's note*—contd.

The decision of Government on the proposition of the local Agents at Agra relative to the appropriation of that portion of the produce of the late Gungadhur Pundit's lands, which has been set aside for public purposes, has hitherto been postponed under the desire of combining any arrangements that might be adopted in pursuance of them with some general systematic scheme for the promotion of public instruction.

To the general Committee about to be appointed, the subject will of course be referred, and I will not anticipate their judgment by any remarks on the plan suggested by the local Agents.

It remains for me to state the immediate object of this note, which I should have explained at once and very briefly, had I not been unconsciously led into detail by the anxiety I feel for the success of a cause I am little able to promote.

To the efficiency of any committee such as it is proposed to establish, it appears to be very essential, that the person through whom their correspondence with Government is conducted should be one fully qualified to second their efforts; with sufficient leisure, to devote a considerable portion of time to the important and difficult subject; and with the kind of knowledge that may qualify him to supply Government with minute and accurate information on the points submitted to its judgment.

I know not how the Madrissa and Hindoo Colleges got into the Revenue Department; excepting, what would justify the absorption of all other departments, that they thence drew the funds assigned for their support. Whilst however the Revenue was united to the Judicial Department, there was perhaps little to object, excepting the load of business that then fell on the secretary: for certainly nothing can be more nearly connected with the good administration of justice and the prevention of crime, than the public instruction of the people. Now, however, no such reason exists for continuing the colleges in the Territorial Department. The funds will not be the less safe, that their appropriation is controuled elsewhere. The habits, which the office necessarily induces, the constant occupation, official and demi-official, which its business gives are all adverse to those pursuits, which should belong to the Secretary, through whom the decisions of Government on questions of public education, should pass.

H. Mackenzie's note—concld.

For myself, I feel very strongly, how little I am competent to the task, unless it were confined to the mere mechanical act of giving expression to specific directions. But independently of general qualification, I must plead the want of leisure from other work. The Record Committee, the Mint Committee, the Bank, the College Council, and the Sinking Fund Committee; all together occupy a considerable portion of my time. It is too in the nature of a department which corresponds with four distinct Boards, to say nothing of Committees, and which touches so nearly the property of Individuals (Merchants, Public Creditors, and Landholders) to have many references, that are never formally brought for decision, and, on the whole, I can safely say I have very few hours of day-light to myself. Nay what with the Loan, and other things, the absence of my Assistant or his entire employment in Police duties, I am obliged to seek indulgence for not having kept pace with my works.

Similar considerations will probably prevail as objections to the transfer of the whole correspondence regarding public Education, to the Judicial or General Departments: although as I have already observed, the matter is one most intimately connected with the administration of Justice and Police.

On the other hand, the Persian Secretary to Government has comparatively much leisure. He necessarily possesses and cultivates the kind of knowledge that best fits him to judge correctly on plans, which have for their object the instruction of the natives and, what is not less important, he is immediately in the way of learning what their sentiments are on the measures, that may be suggested or adopted.

It is indeed a natural part of his duty to mark the origin and growth of every thing, that can affect their character and sentiments. On every ground, therefore, it seems to be expedient to transfer to the Persian Department the correspondence respecting the education of the people of India.

Note.—If not thought necessary to have a separate record, the papers could of course advantageously be brought on the Judicial Proceedings.

I need scarcely add that, soliciting the present relief purely from motives of public duty, I shall rejoice to afford my humble aid in any way, that it can be useful in promoting the important objects contemplated by Government. I pray only that my interference may not be such as to impede their attainment.

It is in this spirit that I now submit the above remarks, though conscious how rude and meagre they may appear. I shall further observe, that though they are confined to the Musulman and Hindoo portion of our subjects; yet the object of educating properly the Christian youth of this city seems to me to be one, not less deserving the attention of Government.

HOLT MACKENZIE.

(18) *Extract from a letter, dated the 17th August 1823, from A. D. Campbell, Esq., Collector of Bellary, to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George.**

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2. The population of this district is specified in the enclosed statement at 927,857, or little less than a million of souls. The number of schools is only 533, containing no more than 6,641 scholars, or about 12 to each school, and not seven individuals in a thousand of the entire population. *A. D. Campbell's report, 1823.*

3. The Hindoo scholars are in number 6,398, the Mussulman scholars only 243, and the whole of these are males, with the exception of only 60 girls, who are all Hindoos exclusively.

4. The English language is taught in one school only; the Tamil in four; the Persian in 21; the Mahratta in 23; the Teloogoo in 226, and the Carnataca in 235. Besides these there are 23 places of instruction attended by Brahmins exclusively, in which some of the Hindoo sciences, such as theology, astronomy, logic and law, are still imperfectly taught in the Sanscrit language.

5. In these places of Sanscrit instruction in the Hindoo sciences, attended by youths, and often by persons far advanced in life, education is conducted on a plan entirely different from that pursued in the schools, in which children are taught reading, writing and arithmetic only, in the several vernacular dialects of the country. I shall endeavour to give a brief outline of the latter, as to them the general population of the country is confined; and as that population consists chiefly of Hindoos I shall not dwell upon the few Mussulman schools in which Persian is taught.

6. The education of the Hindoo youths generally commences when they are five years old; on reaching this age, the master and scholars of the school to which the boy is to be sent, are invited to the house of his parents; the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it. The schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic names of the deity, and is dismissed with a present from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning commences the great work of his education.

7. Some children continue at school only five years; the parents, through poverty or other circumstances, being often obliged to take them away; and conse-

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* Printed in *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 15 [351/501]; also in the *Madras Selections, ii, 1855*, p. xiii.

A. D. Campbell's report, 1823— contd.

quently in such cases the merest smattering of an education is obtained: where parents can afford it, and take a lively interest in the culture of their children's minds, they not unfrequently continue at school as long as 14 or 15 years.

8. The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening school is six o'clock, the first child that enters has the name of Saraswattee, or the goddess of learning, written upon the palm of his hand as a sign of honour; and on the hand of the second a cypher is written, to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two; and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged and often suspended by both hands and a pulley to the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment.

9. When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kadala, which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are the most common. One of these is a common oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length; this board when planed smooth has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The other is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth, the pencil used is called Bultapa, a kind of white clay substance, somewhat resembling a crayon, with the exception of being rather harder.

10. Having attained a thorough knowledge of the letters, the scholar next learns to write the compounds, or the manner of embodying the symbols of the vowels in the consonants and the formation of syllables, etc., then the names of men, villages, animals, etc., and lastly arithmetical signs. He then commits to memory an addition table and counts from one to 100; he afterwards writes

A. D. Campbell's report, 1823—contd.

easy sums in addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and the reduction of money, measure, etc. Here great pains are taken with the scholar in teaching him the fractions of an integer, which descend, not by tens as in our decimal fractions, but by fours, and are carried to a great extent. In order that these fractions together with the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication and the threefold measures of capacity, weight and extent, may be rendered quite familiar to the minds of the scholars, they are made to stand up twice a day in rows, and repeat the whole after one of the monitors.

11. The other parts of native education consist in decyphering various kinds of handwriting in public, and other letters which the school-master collects from different sources, writing common letters, drawing up forms of agreement, reading fables and legendary tables, and committing various kinds of poetry to memory, chiefly with a view to attain distinctness and clearness of pronunciation, together with readiness and correctness in reading any kind of composition.

12. The three books which are most common in all the schools, and which are used indiscriminately by the several castes, are the Ramayanum, Maha Bharata and Bhagavata; but the children of manufacturing class of people have, in addition to the above, books peculiar to their own religious tenets, such as the Nagalingayna, Kutha Vishvakurma, Poorana, Kamalesherra Ralikamahata; and those who wear the lingum, such as the Buwapoorana Raghavan-kunkanya, Keeruja Gullana, Unabhavamoorta, Chenna Busavaswara Poorana, Jurilagooloo, etc., which are all considered sacred, and are studied with a view of subserving their several religious creeds.

13. The lighter kind of stories, which are read for amusement, are generally the Punchatantra Bhatalapunchavunsatee, Punklee-soopooktahuller, Mahantarungenee. The books on the principles of the vernacular languages themselves, are the several dictionaries and grammars, such as the Nighantoo, Umara, Suddamumburee, Shuddeemanee, Durpana, Vyacurna, Andradeepeca, Andranamasangraha, etc., etc., but these last and similar books which are most essential, and without which no accurate or extensive knowledge of the vernacular languages can be attained, are, from the high price of manuscripts and the general poverty of the masters, of all the books the most uncommon in the native schools, and such of them as are found there, are, in consequence of the ignorance, carelessness and indolence of copyists in general, full of blunders, and in every way most incorrect and imperfect.

14. The whole of the books, however, in the Teloogoo and Carnataca schools, which are by far the most numerous in this district, whether they treat of religion, amusement or the principles of these languages, are in verse, and in a dialect quite distinct from that of conversation and business. The alphabets of the two dialects are the same, and he who reads the one can read, but not

A. D. Campbell's report, 1823— concld.

understand, the other also. The natives, therefore, read these (to them unintelligible) books to acquire the power of reading letters in the common dialect of business ; but the poetical is quite different from the prose dialect which they speak and write : and though they read these books, it is to the pronunciation of the syllables, not to the meaning or construction of the words, that they attend. Indeed few teachers can explain, and still fewer scholars understand, the purport of the numerous books which they thus learn to repeat from memory. Every schoolboy can repeat verbatim a vast number of verses, of the meaning of which he knows no more than the parrot that has been taught to utter certain words. Accordingly from studies in which he has spent many a day of laborious but fruitless toil, the native scholar gains no improvement, except the exercise of memory and the power to read and write on the common business of life ; he makes no addition to his stock of useful knowledge, and requires no moral impressions. He has spent his youth in reading syllables, not words, and on entering into life, he meets with hundreds and thousands of words in common course of reading books, of the meaning of which he cannot form even the most distant conjecture ; and as to the declension of a noun, or the conjugation of a verb, he knows no more than of the most abstruse problem in Euclid. It is not to be wondered at, with such an imperfect education, that in writing a common letter to their friends, orthographical errors and other violations of grammar may be met with in almost every line written by a native.

15. The Government could not promote the improved education of their native subjects in these districts more than by patronizing versions, in the common prose and spoken dialect, of the most moral parts of their popular poets and elementary works, now committed to memory in unintelligible verse. He who could read, would then understand what he reads, which is far from the case at present. I am acquainted with many persons capable of executing such a task ; and in the Teloogoo language would gladly superintend it as far as in my power at this distance from the Presidency.

16. The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the most advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserves the imitation it has received in England.* The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught and the want of competent masters.

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A. D. CAMPBELL,

Collector.

* *See* p. 23.

(*19*) *Letter, dated September 1823, from the Secretary, Committee of Public Instruction, to local Agents.*

GENTLEMEN,

I am desired by the General Committee of Public Instruction appointed by the Governor General in Council on the 31st ultimo, to bring to your knowledge, their having been nominated to ascertain the state of public education under this Presidency and to submit from time to time the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt, with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge, including the sciences and arts of Europe, and the improvement of their moral character. *Letter to local Agents, Sept. 1823.*

To enable the Committee to fulfil the objects of its nomination, it will be necessary for them to be apprised of the local means, that are applicable to the purposes of public instruction, throughout the country and the existence of any peculiar circumstances, favourable or unfavourable to its dissemination. You are, therefore, requested to furnish the Committee with replies to the following questions as far as the information you possess, or may be able to collect, within the limits of your local agency, will permit.

1. What schools, colleges or seminaries of any denomination, whether public or private, exist in the towns or villages of the district ?

2. What instruction is proposed to be given at them and in what languages ?

3. What are the books or materials by which such instruction is given ?

4. To what description or class of persons do the teachers respectively belong ?

5. How are the teachers paid and to what amount monthly or annually ?

6. If by public grants or endowments, what are the nature and circumstance of each grant, such as the rate or period of the original grant, by whom and to whom given, to what purpose the grant was made, whether in land or money, and to what annual amount, how it is secured and administered ?

7. In what degree may the several schools, colleges or other establishments seem to merit the aid and encouragement of Government, and in what manner could it be best afforded ?

8. Are the schools, colleges or other seminaries well or ill attended ?

9. At what age do the pupils usually join the establishment and when do they quit it ?

Letter to local Agents, Sept. 1823—contd.

10. Where the pupils are resident under the roof (of) the master, or in a public building, what are the arrangements for their food, clothing, etc. ?

11. What success seems to attend the instruction given ? And what books, especially among such as have been published by the Calcutta School Book Society, or any other subsisting institution, appear to be most required for the intellectual and moral improvement of the pupils ?

In requesting answers to these queries, the Committee by no means wish you to understand, that full replies are expected to each. They are aware of the real difficulties, that will close the access to information, in some instances, and that many impediments may arise from feelings of personal interest and excusable prejudice. They neither wish to alarm the one nor contend with the other. They only propose collecting as many facts as circumstances may admit, relative to the actual state of public education and the capabilities of the country to contribute towards its own amelioration. You will not therefore, if you should find it difficult to answer the above queries as entirely as you would wish, withhold such information as you may be able to communicate. The Committee will also be happy to receive any suggestions that may occur to you generally, as calculated to promote the diffusion of useful education throughout the country, as well as a free communication of your sentiments, regarding the expedience and practicability of introducing an acquaintance with European Science and Literature, either through the medium of the English or the native languages.

You are requested to communicate with the local magistrate on the subject of this letter, of which a copy may be furnished to him, if he should desire it, and the Committee have no doubt that in common with every other Public officer or individual, whom you may wish to co-operate with you in the important and interesting objects of this address, that officer will readily afford you every assistance and information, it may be more especially in his power to contribute.

As some time must elapse, before you can be enabled to answer many of the enquiries, contained in this letter, and the Committee are desirous of being informed as soon as possible, of any ascertained endowments or Funds of a public nature, which may have become known to the Local Agents appointed under Regulation XIX, 1810, in pursuance of that Regulation and may be immediately applicable to any object of Public Education, you are requested to furnish as soon as possible, a statement of any such endowments or Funds, within the limits of your Local Agency drawn up in such form as may have been adopted for official communication to the Board of Revenue, and accompanied by full report

of such particulars relative to the receipts or disbursements, as may appear requisite for the Committee's information.

Letter to local Agents, Sept. 1823—concld.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Sd.) H. H. WILSON,
Junior Member and Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction.

CALCUTTA:
September, 1823.

(20) *Resolution, dated the 17th January 1824.*

Resolution re funds at the Committee's disposal, 17th January, 1824.

The Governor General in Council having fully considered the above report of the General Committee of public instruction, resolves, on the grounds therein stated, that, of the institutions specified in the list submitted by them, the following alone shall form a charge on the lac of Rupees appropriated to the object of public education by the Resolution of the 17th July last, *viz.*:—

	Rs.
Schools at Chinsurah	9,600
Schools at Rajpootana	3,600
School at Bhaugulpore	3,600
TOTAL .	16,800

2. So long therefore as those institutions shall be maintained, the annual income at the disposal of the Committee of Instruction, under the Resolution of the 17th July last, will be Sicca Rupees 83,200. Should they be discontinued or reduced, the amount available to the Committee for other purposes will be proportionately increased; and of course the fund in question is to be charged with any disbursements made on account of these or other existing institutions beyond the amount assigned to them.

3. His Lordship in Council is further pleased to pass the following resolutions for the purpose of better defining the extent of the funds to be administered by the Committee and the mode in which they are to be drawn for.

4. The order passed in 1819, under which the income of the Madrissah was fixed at Sicca Rupees 30,000 per annum, shall be considered to have had effect from the commencement of the year 1819-20. From that date, up to which

The Committee's funds—contd.

the accounts of the Institution are to be considered as finally adjusted, a regular statement of the assigned income and charges will be prepared for each year, the Madrissah being annually credited with the above sum (Sicca Rupees 30,000) and debited with the expenses incurred, and the balance due to the Institution on the 30th April last will be placed at the disposal of the Committee. For the current year a monthly sum of Rs. 2,500 will be similarly carried to the credit of the Madrissa, and the Committee will be authorized to draw the amount monthly with any balance that may be due on account of the past months without further reference to Government. So likewise hereafter the Sub-Treasurer will monthly carry the sum of Rs. 2,500 to the credit of the Committee on account of the Madrissah; the amount will be drawn by the Secretary in bills on the Sub-Treasurer countersigned by two or more of the Committee.

5. The income assigned to the Hindoo College of Calcutta (Sicca Rs. 25,000) by the resolution of the 21st August, 1821, shall be considered to have commenced from that date, and the above resolutions, relative to the Madrissah funds shall be applied (*mutatis mutandis*) to the Hindoo College.

6. The years 1821-22 and 1822-23 having equally yielded a considerable surplus revenue; and it being obviously desirable that the Committee of Instruction should possess at starting a considerable fund for the construction of buildings, the purchase of books and instruments and the like, that they may not be stinted in the means of giving the fullest possible efficiency to existing institutions, at the earliest practicable period,—His Lordship in Council resolves that the assignment of the lac of rupees shall take effect from the year first mentioned: and that for each of the years 1821-22 and 1822-23 the sum of Rs. 83,200 shall be carried to the credit of the Committee of Instruction: A like sum in equal monthly instalments will be carried to their credit in the current year; to be drawn for as above prescribed in regard to the funds of the Madrissah.

7. In placing the above mentioned funds at the disposal of the Committee, His Lordship in Council is satisfied that while they pursue with animation and liberality the important objects to which their labours are directed, they will not the less anxiously endeavour to maintain every practicable economy.

8. In fixed establishments all charges that may appear expedient will of course be reported to Government. Whether any and what restriction shall be imposed, or the discretion of the Committee in regard to the appropriation of the sums placed at their disposal, beyond what may be implied in the requisition of regular accounts, will be considered in the Persian Department: It is of course quite unnecessary that they should monthly apply for the sanction of Government to the ordinary expenses of the institutions under their superintendence or to contingent charges of an amount not exceeding 1,000 rupees.

(21) *Minute, dated the 10th March, 1826, by Sir Thomas Munro.**

The Board of Revenue were directed by Government on the 2nd July, 1822, to ascertain the number of schools, and the state of education among the natives in the provinces, and with their letter of the 21st February last, they transmitted the reports on this subject which they had received from the several Collectors. From these reports it appears that the number of schools, and of what are called colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,941 ; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population ; but as only a very few females are taught in school, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population. *Minute by Sir T. Munro, 1826.*

2. It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of 12½ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated ; for if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,850,000 and deduct one-half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000 ; and if we reckon the male population between the ages of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000 which is the number of boys that would be at school if all the males above ten years of age were educated ; but the number actually attending the school is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number. I have taken the interval between five and ten years of age as the term of education, because, though many boys continue at school till twelve or fourteen, many leave it under ten. I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population who receive school education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home. In Madras the number taught at home is 26,903, or above five times greater than that taught in the schools. There is probably some error in this number, and though the number privately taught in the provinces does certainly not approach this rate, it is no doubt considerable, because the practice of boys being taught at home by their relations or private teachers is not unfrequent in any part of the country. The proportion educated is very different in different classes ; in some it is nearly the whole ; in others it is hardly one-tenth.

3. The state of education here exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant period. It has, no doubt, been better in earlier times ; but for the last century, it does not appear to have undergone any other change than what arose from the number of schools diminishing in one place and increasing in another, in consequence

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* Printed in *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 18 [358/506] and in *Madras Selections, ii, 1855*, p. XX.

Minute by Sir T. Munro—contd.

of the shifting of the population, from war or other causes. The great number of schools has been supposed to contribute to the keeping education in a low state, because it does not give a sufficient number of scholars to secure the services of able teachers. The monthly rate paid by each scholar is from four to six or eight annas. Teachers in general do not earn more than six or seven rupees monthly, which is not an allowance sufficient to induce men properly qualified to follow the profession. It may also be said that the general ignorance of the teachers themselves is one cause why none of them draw a large body of scholars together ; but the main causes of the low state of education are the little encouragement which it receives, from there being but little demand for it, and the poverty of the people.

4. These difficulties may be gradually surmounted. The hindrance which is given to education by the poverty of the people may in a great degree be removed by the endowment of schools throughout the country by Government, and the want of encouragement will be remedied by good education being rendered more easy and general, and by the preference which will naturally be given to well educated men in all public offices. No progress, however, can be made without a body of better instructed teachers than we have at present ; but such a body cannot be had without an income sufficient to afford a comfortable livelihood to each individual belonging to it. A moderate allowance should therefore be secured to them by Government, sufficient to place them above want ; the rest should be derived from their own industry. If they are superior both in knowledge and diligence to the common village school-masters, scholars will flock to them and augment their income.

5. What is first wanted, therefore, is a school for educating teachers, as proposed by the Committee of Madras School Book Society, in the letter of the 25th October, 1824, which accompanied their second report. I think that they should be authorized to draw 700 rupees monthly from the Treasury for the purposes which they have stated ; namely, for the payment of the interest of money employed in building and the salaries of teachers, 500 ; and for the expenses of the press, 200. I would next propose that Government should establish, in each Collectorate, two principal schools, one for Hindoos and the other for Mahomedans ; and that hereafter, as teachers can be found, the Hindoo schools might be augmented so as to give one to each Tahsildary, or about 15 to each Collectorate. We ought to extend to our Mahomedan the same advantages of education as to our Hindoo subjects, and perhaps even in a greater degree, because a greater proportion of them belong to the middle and higher classes. But as their number is not more than one-twentieth of that of the Hindoos, it will not be necessary to give more than one Mahomedan school to each Collectorate, except in Arcot, and a few other Collectorates, where the Mahomedan population is considerably above the usual standard.

6. We have 20 Collectorates. The number of Tahsildaries is liable to change, but it will be sufficient for the present purpose to estimate them at 15 on an average to each Collectorate, or 300 in all. This would, according to the plan proposed, give about 40 Collectorate and 300 Tahsildary schools. The monthly salaries of the teachers of the Collectorate schools might, on an average, be 15 rupees to each, and those of the Tahsildary nine rupees each. These allowances may appear small but the Tahsildary school-master who receives nine rupees monthly from Government, will get at least as much more from his scholars, and considering all circumstances his station will probably be better than that of a parish school-master in Scotland.

Minute by Sir T. Munro—contd.

7. The total expense of the schools will be as follows :—

	Rs.
Madras School Book Society, per month	700
Collectorate Schools, Mahomedans, 20 at Rs. 15	300
Collectorate schools, Hindoos, 20 at Rs. 15	300
Tahsildary schools, 300 at Rs. 9	2,700
TOTAL PER MONTH	4,000
TOTAL PER ANNUM	48,000

This expense will be incurred only by degrees, because it will be long before a sufficient number of qualified teachers can be obtained. The charges for the Madras School Book Society and the Collectorate schools, are all that will probably be wanted before the sanction of the Honourable Court can be received. The sum for which we ought to request their sanction ought not to be less than half a lac of rupees. None of the endowments in the Collector's reports are applicable to the present object. They do not exceed 20,000 rupees in all and only a small portion of them are public grants, and this small portion belongs chiefly to the teachers of Theology, Law and Astronomy. Whatever expense Government may incur in the education of the people, will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country ; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people.

8. It will be advisable to appoint a Committee of Public Instruction, in order to superintend the establishing of the public schools ; to fix on the places most proper for them, and the books to be used in them ; to ascertain in what manner the instruction of the natives may be best promoted, and to report to Government the result of their enquiries on this important subject.

9. We must not be too sanguine in expecting any sudden benefit from the labours of the School Book Society. Their disposition to promote the instruction

Minute by Sir T. Munro—concld.

of the people by educating teachers, will not extend it to more individuals than now attend the schools ; it can be extended only by means of an increased demand for it, and this must arise chiefly from its being found to facilitate the acquisition of wealth or rank, and from the improvement in the condition of the people rendering a larger portion of them more able to pay for it. But though they cannot educate those who do not seek, or cannot pay for education, they can, by an improved system, give a better education to those who do receive it ; and by creating and encouraging a taste for knowledge, they will indirectly contribute to extend it. If we resolve to educate the people, if we persevere in our design, and if we do not limit the schools to Tahsildaries, but increase their number so as to allow them for smaller districts, I am confident that success will ultimately attend our endeavours. But, at the same time, I entirely concur in the opinion expressed in the 5th report of the Calcutta School Book Society, when speaking of the progress of the system, that " its operation must therefore of necessity be slow ; years must elapse before the rising generation will exhibit any visible improvement."

THOMAS MUNRO.

CHAPTER V.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The authorities began by patronising the ancient form of learning. They then awoke to the illiteracy of the masses, set forth enthusiastically to establish common schools and then recoiled at the magnitude of the task. But they did not return to the encouragement of Sanskrit and Arabic lore—although these forms of education were not abandoned without a struggle. The same year (1823) which witnessed the commencement of surveys and plans of mass education witnessed also a decisive step in the policy upon which the more enlightened servants of the Company, despairing of the attempt to diffuse vernacular instruction, were now to embark. The controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists had in reality already begun and it only remained for the views of the latter to assert themselves in a practical manner.

The earliest and the most extreme supporter of the Anglicist view was Charles Grant,* the friend of Wilberforce. With some hesitation I quote, as document No. 22, an extract from his "Observations" written in or about 1792. His proposals go far beyond anything urged by Macaulay or subsequently adopted.

Grant's proposals seem to have had little practical effect. Perhaps they were recognised as violent and impracticable. But an uneasy feeling began to assert itself, and the possibility of spreading a more useful and effective type of education began to be considered. Lord Moira's Minute of 1815 (document No. 9) emphasised the necessity not only of multiplying schools but also of inculcating more accurate ideas of general science and sounder principles of morality. He also criticised the type of education given in the "University of Benares," as he termed the Sanskrit College there.

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* For previous references to Grant, see chapter II, p. 16.

Nor was this tendency confined to officials. Indeed, it developed a stronger impetus among the Bengalis, which was aided by the missionaries and private individuals. In 1817 the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College* was founded at Calcutta—" the very first English seminary in Bengal, or even in India, as far as I know," wrote Dr. Duff.† The majority of members on the joint Committee which managed it were Indians. The institution was mismanaged and most of the Europeans left the committee. Mainly on the initiative of David Hare, who had made increasing efforts to keep the school together, an application was made to Government to save it from ruin. Government was willing to help but stipulated for a small measure of control, which the Indian majority were unwilling to accord. At last the claim of Government (which amounted only to the appointment of a visitor) was recognised.‡ In 1855 the institution became absorbed in the Presidency College of Calcutta. There were also the Baptist Mission College at Serampore and Bishop's College, Calcutta, founded respectively in 1818 and 1820.

Bombay showed that practical bent which distinguishes its citizens. An engineering institution had been founded there and was maintained wholly at Government expense. In 1824 it contained 36 Indians and 14 lads of mixed descent. By 1826 the numbers had increased to 86. There were also medical schools at Calcutta and Bombay, the latter founded in 1826.

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* Originally called the " *Maha Patshala,* or Hindoo College of Calcutta."

† Dr. Duff's account of the foundation and early days of this school is worth perusal. It is quoted in HOWELL, page 10. See also *The Revd. Dr. Duff's letters addressed to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education, 1841 ; and the Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1852-3,* Minutes of Evidence, page 48, No. 6098f. A good account of the Hindu College is also given in J. KERR's *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851,* pp. 1-43.

‡ See letters, dated 1st July 1824 and 15th October 1824, from the managers of the Institution, and from the General Committee to Government. The Indian Managers of the Vidyalaya proposed a joint committee on which the General Committee reported as follows :—

" We received ...... a proposal to place the college under the control of a special committee to consist of an equal number of the General Committee and of the Native Managers, with this condition that no measure should be adopted to which the native members of the Committee should unanimously object ...... We thought it advisable to decline acceptance of the authority thus offered to us, but.....we deemed it expedient to propose taking a share in the control of the institution as visitors of the college." (*Political proceedings*, 1829, vol. 6, No. 86.)

Thus there existed side by side two classes of education—that imparted in the indigenous *pathshalas* and *tols* and in places like the Calcutta Madrassa and the Sanskrit College at Benares; and that imparted in primary schools managed by missions and societies and in institutions which contained the germs of the later English high school and Arts college. The two systems went on peacefully side by side. An effort on the part of Government brought them into collision in Bengal.

In 1811 Government had promised to establish colleges for the advancement of Hindu literature in Nadia and Tirhut. The scheme failed and Government decided to redeem its promise by the opening of a Hindu Sanskrit College at Calcutta after the model of that at Benares. The foundation stone was laid in 1821, an annual sum of Rs. 30,000 was granted and a staff of fourteen *pandits* was appointed with a European Secretary and 100 scholars on the foundation. The original intention of this college was that it should fulfil two functions, the cultivation of Hindu literature and the gradual diffusion of European knowledge. Such were the instructions given to the Committee of management in a Resolution of the 21st August 1821. The passage runs as follows.

"The Committee will bear in mind that the immediate object of the institution is the cultivation of Hindu literature. Yet it is in the judgment of His Lordship in Council, a purpose of much deeper interest to seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge. It seems indeed no unreasonable anticipation to hope that if the higher and the educated classes among the Hindus shall, through the medium of their sacred language, be imbued with a taste for the European literature and science, general acquaintance with these and with the language whence they are drawn, will be as surely and as extensively communicated as by any attempt at direct instruction by other and humbler seminaries."

The Committee, however, decided that in the first instance at least the instruction to be given should be confined to the sacred literature of the Hindus as it is contained in the Sanskrit language.

On the 23rd July 1823, Mr. Harington submitted to Government a letter he had received from the British India Society, advising the transmission, by permission of the Court of Directors, freight free, of "an extensive philosophical apparatus," to be placed at the disposal of

the college. The arrival of this apparatus, consisting of "a complete set of mechanical powers, a complete whirling table," and many other strange things, probably caused consternation among the *pandits* and may have proved embarrassing to the committee, whose heart was not in these new-fangled sciences. However, Government charged expenses of unpacking, etc., to the Company and assigned a salary for a professor on experimental philosophy so soon as a qualified person should be found to receive it. On the 31st July of the same year the Governor-General gave some instructions to the committee, whose reply was slightly equivocal; they admitted that the experiments would be instructive as well as amusing and contented themselves with providing for a very small number of pupils on the science side. These communications are printed as documents Nos. 16 and 23.

The attempt to promote useful learning was not a success. Perhaps this is not a matter for surprise. The Directors complained of this failure while admitting that the view taken by the Governor-General was "rational" (document No. 24). The Committee of Public Instruction defended their action in a letter to the Governor-General, dated the 18th August 1824 (document No. 25), by saying that the popular feeling was against this innovation and that oriental lore was excellent pabulum. That Bengali feeling was entirely against the introduction of western learning is disproved by a letter written in December 1823 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Lord Amherst (document No. 26). Howell remarks* on this incident, "it is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history of English Education in India, that at the very time when the natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against a continuance of the prevailing orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the retention of oriental learning to the practical exclusion of European learning." Probably there was truth on both sides. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, and his enlightened followers, were doubt-

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* *Education in British India*, p. 18.

less opposed not only by the prudence or timidity of the Committee, but by a good deal of feeling among the more conservative ranks of the Bengalis. The Directors urged a bold advance and were backed up, not very zealously, by the Governor-General. The committee, in close touch with the majority of public opinion and the view of the *pandits*, hesitated to embark on so large a measure of innovation.

(22) *Extract from C. Grant's* Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals; and on the means of improving it. Written chiefly in the year 1792: dated August 16, 1797.*†

Grant's "Observations."

We now proceed to the main object of this work, for the sake of which all the preceding topics and discussions have been brought forward,—an enquiry into the means of remedying disorders, which have become thus inveterate in the state of society among our Asiatic subjects, which destroy their happiness, and obstruct every species of improvement among them.

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The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us.

Medium of communication.

There are two ways of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is by the medium of our own. In

* CHARLES GRANT (1746-1823) was in 1767 sent to India in a military capacity. In 1770 he returned but again went out to India and was made a Factor there in 1773. He rapidly accumulated a large fortune and returned to England in 1790. In 1802 he entered Parliament and became Chairman of the East India Company in 1805. Grant was an energetic member of the evangelical party known as the Clapham sect, which included Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, etc.

† In 1813 Grant's "Observations, etc.," was laid before the House of Commons, by whose orders it was printed. It was regarded as the ablest answer to the arguments of the anti-missionary party headed by Major SCOTT WARING and SYDNEY SMITH (Dict. Nat. Biog. VIII, 379). It appears in the *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company*, 16th August 1832. Appendix I, pp. 82-87.

Grant's "Observations"—contd.

general, when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they have used the vernacular tongue of that people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other mean of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely. The choice therefore of either mode, lies open to us; and we are at liberty to consider which is entitled to a preference. Upon this subject, it is not intended to pass an exclusive decision here; the points absolutely to be contended for are, that we ought to impart our superior lights, and that this is practicable; that it is practicable by two ways, can never be an argument why neither should be attempted. Indeed no great reason appears why either should be systematically interdicted, since particular cases may recommend even that which is generally least eligible.

The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could therefore be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native languages, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was before hidden. Upon every new occasion, he has a similar labour to perform, and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings in the same character, still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior, in point of ultimate advantage does the employment of the English language appear; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing here that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language. This proposition will bring at once to trial, both the principle of such communication, and that mode of conveyance which can alone be questioned; for the admission of the principle must at least include in it the admission of the narrowest means suited to the end, which we conceive to be the native languages. The principle, however, and the mode are still distinct questions, and any opinion which may be entertained of the latter, cannot affect the former; but it is hoped, that what shall be offered here concerning them, will be found sufficient to justify both.

English, the medium.

We proceed then to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a

variety of subjects ; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error ; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer. *Grant's "Observations"*—contd.]

The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language ; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands.

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[Here follow an account of the introduction of Persian by the Moghuls as the language of Government and an enumeration of the benefits which might have been derived from following their example with English.]

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It would be extremely easy for Government to establish, at a moderate expense, in various parts of the provinces, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English : multitudes, especially of the young, would flock to them ; and the easy books used in teaching, might at the same time convey obvious truths on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals and discretion ; and men of this character could impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse : and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might at first make use of the Bengalese tongue. The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves ; and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of Government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of Government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first upon such a change : for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the provinces, who understand both the Hindostanny and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to Government, or its officers, would be no additional hard-

Grant's "Observations"—contd.

ship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks; and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the Government gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan rulers.

Advantages.

With our language, much of our useful literature might, and would, in time be communicated. The art of Printing, would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done, though their compositions had been as numerous as ours. Hence the Hindus would see the great use we make of reason on all subjects, and in all affairs; they also would learn to reason, they would become acquainted with the history of their own species, the past and present state of the world; their affections would gradually become interested by various engaging works, composed to recommend virtue, and to deter from vice; the general mass of their opinions would be rectified; and above all, they would see a better system of principles and morals. New views of duty as rational creatures would open upon them; and that mental bondage in which they have long been holden would gradually dissolve.

To this change the true knowledge of nature would contribute; and some of our easy explanations of natural philosophy might, undoubtedly, by proper means, be made intelligible to them. Except a few Brahmins, who consider the concealment of their learning as part of their religion,* the people are totally misled as to the system and phenomena of nature; and their errors in this branch of science, upon which divers important conclusions rest, may be more easily demonstrated to them, than the absurdity and falsehood of their mythological legends. From the demonstration of the true cause of eclipses, the story of *Ragoo*,† and *Ketoo*, the dragons, who when the sun and moon are obscured are supposed to be assaulting them, a story which has hitherto been an article of religious faith, productive of religious services among the Hindoos, would fall to the ground; the removal of one pillar would weaken the fabric of falsehood; the discovery of one palpable error, would open the mind to farther conviction; and the progressive discovery of truths, hitherto unknown, would dissipate as many superstitious chimeras, the parents of false fears, and false hopes. Every branch of natural philosophy might in time be introduced and diffused among the Hindoos. Their understandings would then be strengthened, as well as their minds informed, and error be dispelled in proportion.

Mechanical arts.

But perhaps no acquisition in natural philosophy would so effectually enlighten the mass of the people, as the introduction of the principles of mechanics, and their

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* Grant refers, in a foot note, to certain Hindu texts which he characteristically misinterprets.

† Rāhu.

application to agriculture and the useful arts. Not that the Hindoos are wholly destitute of simple mechanical contrivances. Some manufactures, which depend upon patient attention and delicacy of hand, are carried to a considerable degree of perfection among them; but for a series of ages, perhaps for two thousand years, they do not appear to have made any considerable addition to the arts of life. Invention seems wholly torpid among them; in a few things, they have improved by their intercourse with Europeans, of whose immense superiority they are at length convinced; but this effect is partial, and not discernible in the bulk of the people. The scope for improvement, in this respect, is prodigious.

Grant's "Observations"—contd.

What great accessions of wealth would Bengal derive from a people intelligent in the principles of agriculture, skilled to make the most of soils and seasons, to improve the existing modes of culture, of pasturage, of rearing cattle, of defence against excess of drought, and of rain, and thus to meliorate the quality of all the produce of the country! All these arts are still in infancy. The husbandman of Bengal just turns up the soil with a diminutive plough, drawn by a couple of miserable cattle; and if drought parches, or the rain inundate the crop, he has no resource; he thinks he is destined to this suffering, and is far more likely to die from want, than to relieve himself by any new or extraordinary effort. Horticulture also is in its first stage: the various fruits and esculent herbs, with which Hindostan abounds, are nearly in a state of nature; though they are planted in inclosed gardens, little skill is employed to reclaim them. In this respect likewise, we might communicate information of material use to the comfort of life, and to the prevention of famine. In silk, indigo, sugar, and in many other articles, what vast improvements might be effected by the introduction of machinery. The skilful application of fire, of water, and of steam, improvements which would thus immediately concern the interest of the common people, would awaken them from their torpor, and give activity to their minds. At present it is wonderful to see how entirely they resign themselves to precedent; *custom* is the strongest law to them. *Following implicitly*, seems to be instinctive with them, in small things as well as great. The path which the first passenger has ever marked over the soft soil, is trodden so undeviatingly in all its curves, by every succeeding traveller, that when it is perfectly beaten, it has still only the width of a single track.

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[Here follows a discussion on the advantages to be derived from the introduction of Christianity.]

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Grant's "Observations"—concld.

It is not asserted, that such effects would be immediate or universal; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and internal peace of society among the Hindoos! Men would be restored to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts, improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well ordered society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is in the nature of things to be found."

(23) *Letter, dated 6th October 1823, from the General Committee of Public Instruction.*

My Lord,

Teaching of science.

We have now the honour to submit to your Lordship our reply to that portion of the tenth paragraph of Mr. Secretary Stirling's letter of the 31st July,* which directed us to give our early attention to the completion of the arrangements, for the construction of the proposed Hindu College of Calcutta.

2. We were also at the same time instructed, to advert fully to any change in the form and distribution of the building which might be required by the change contemplated in the studies, and discipline of the institution, under the resolution of Government to introduce European Sciences as far as practicable.

3. With reference to this latter branch of our instructions, we have further had recourse to the proceedings of Government of the 17th July 1823, on occasion of a petition from the managers and supporters of the native Hindu College of Calcutta, praying for the assistance of the Government, and the resolution of Government thereupon.

4. The resolution of Government determined to endow at the public charge, a professorship of experimental philosophy, to the lectures of which, the students of certain classes of the present Hindu College, as well as those of the Sanscrit College should be admitted gratuitously. Before finally determining on the arrangement however, the Governor General deemed it proper that the Committee of the Sanscrit Hindu College should be consulted upon the expediency of the measure, and requested to submit their sentiments on the details, which its adoption will involve, including an estimate of the expense.

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* Document No. 16, p. 56.

5. The Governor General in Council further resolved, to supply from the public funds, the cost of a school house to be constructed for the use of the existing Hindu College and School, on a moderate scale of expense, in the vicinity of the site already chosen for the Sanscrit College, the plan and estimate of which, Lieutenant Buxton was directed to prepare, in communication with the manager of the Institution. *Teaching of science*—contd.

6. The Committee of Superintendence of the Government Hindu College, having in the meantime merged into the General Committee, the reference which it was intended should have been made to them, has in like manner been transferred to us; and as the subjects it regards will necessarily affect the ultimate disposition of the buildings and site of the Sanscrit College, it is necessary that they should be disposed of before the completion of the arrangement affecting them be considered.

7. To the measure proposed by Government of so far combining the Government and Native Colleges, as to give them jointly the benefit of philosophical instruction, we conceive there cannot be any objection; and we are disposed to anticipate from the measure, advantages of the most important description, particularly as regards the Sanscrit College.

8. The diffusion of sound practical knowledge amongst the able and respectable individuals, of whom its members will consist of men, who by their Brahmanical birth, as well as by their learning, exercise a powerful influence on the minds of every order of the community, cannot fail to be attended with beneficial effects. That the curiosity and intelligence of these individuals will be excited, we can scarcely doubt, when we advert to the interest, which is inherent in the subjects of the lectures, and the improved means of verification, which they will possess in an extensive apparatus, and amusing as well as instructive experiments. The chief advantages however are, that as the connexion will be effected in an unobtrusive manner, it will not be likely, in the first instance, to give any alarm to the prejudices of the Brahmanical members of the college; and as it may be expected to become attractive by its own merits, it is probable, that with proper regulation it will spontaneously ripen into intimate association. The union of European and Hindu learning being thus quietly effected in one case, it will hereafter be comparatively easy to carry the combination into other departments, and the improved cultivation of science, and literature may be thus successfully and extensively promoted.

9. The expediency of the general arrangement being thus admitted, it only remains that the means of carrying its details into effect be suggested. There are some difficulties with respect to the tuition to be given and the teacher who shall impart it, which it is at present not easy to overcome; and there will probably be an enhancement of expenditure beyond that, which was originally contemplated, we trust however that, in consideration of the important consequences we have anticipated, the latter circumstance will not induce the Government to forego its

Teaching of science—contd.

liberal intentions ; and we entertain no doubt that, with time and further enquiry, we shall be able to provide for the wants of the institution in the former respects.

10. Adverting to the course of study usually adopted, and the nature of the apparatus actually received, we propose that the instructions to be given by the professor of experimental philosophy, attached to the Government and the native Hindu Colleges, shall embrace the following sciences :—Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Electricity, Astronomy, Chemistry.

The order of the course will be determined by the teacher, but it would be advisable to separate Chemistry from the rest, and appropriate a practical course to that science alone. The instructions should be given in private courses, that is to say, in classes, and it might be sufficient to teach Mechanics, etc., twice a week, and Chemistry twice a week, from 10 till 1 or 2, according to the number and proficiency of the pupils. During favourable periods of the year, public lectures also may be given on these subjects generally, or any particular branches of them, to be held either in the evenings or on the days of vacation. To these lectures all the Governors, teachers, and scholars of the college and school should be admissible. It might perhaps be desirable, also to throw them open to the public at a moderate charge for admission ; the amount of which might constitute an additional remuneration to the professor.

11. The pupils of the philosophical school are to be those of the first class of the present native college ; upon all of whom, it should be made obligatory to attend one course of philosophy, a further continuance should be made a matter of favor and granted only when the desire and capability of learning were undoubted. The duration of the period of study may then be regulated, only by the wish of the parties and the report of the professor. The lads of the native college should not be permitted to attend the philosophical class, until they are well grounded in the English language ; a qualification, it might be supposed, it is unnecessary to provide for by any other condition, than that of their entering the first class of the present college. Their number will consequently not much exceed a dozen at a time, and the professor will be able to extend the benefit of his instructions to at least an equal number of the lads in the upper classes of the Sanscrit College, when he shall be qualified to communicate with the pupils either in Sanscrit or some of the vernacular languages ; to the acquisition of which his attention should be immediately addressed and in the study of which he should be aided with teachers and books at the public expense.

12. It is difficult at present to suggest any other arrangements for the points above adverted to ; and it is possible that what is already detailed will be found to require essential modifications, when put in practice. What has been here stated may however suffice to give an outline of what it is wished, and what it may be practicable in the first instance to effect. A more complete development of the

system will require a communication with the person who may be appointed professor, and cannot even then be finally determined, until he shall have had the benefit of reasonably protracted experience. *Teaching of science*—contd.

13. The same difficulty is attached to any estimate of the expense; the extent of which can scarcely be appreciated, in the utter absence of all experience in such matters in this country. In the present state of the subject therefore only general conclusions can be offered, with exception of the cost of the accommodation it might be necessary to provide.

14. The lectures on general physics might be held in the Sanscrit College, and the apparatus presented by the London Society might, as far as it at present extends, be disposed of in that building. It would be attended however with some inconvenience especially if, as expected, the apparatus be much enlarged, and if, as may be also contemplated, the Sanscrit College attract any very considerable number of pupils. It may also be observed that instruction in chemical science could scarcely be given in the Sanscrit College, as it will require a room for a laboratory in addition to that for the classes; and such a room cannot be conveniently spared. As the lectures also must be held in the hall of the College, in which the public examinations of the pupils are to be conducted, it is possible that the two may mutually interfere and occasionally obstruct each other. It is therefore highly desirable that a philosophical lecture room be constructed independent of the College, although in its immediate vicinity. Such a building should be erected as will accommodate the philosophical apparatus securely and commodiously; comprise a laboratory, in which alone Chemistry can be usefully and practically studied; afford a spacious room, in which public lectures may be given, and leave such accommodation to spare, as may be found available hereafter for an extension of the plan of tuition, should the success of the experiment render its extension expedient. Under these impressions we have obtained a plan for a separate building, contiguous to the college, from Captain Buxton, the expense of erecting which will be Rs.15,998; according to the estimate of Messrs. Burn and Company of which Captain Buxton has approved.

15. The chief item of expense after the building is erected, will be the salary of the professor. This has been estimated at Rs. 300 a month, but it may be doubted whether a qualified person can be procured for this sum, indeed it is not certain, that a fit person is to be met with in India on any terms, and it may be necessary therefore to invite a teacher from Europe. In that case £500 a year would be the lowest sum likely to attract an individual to India, and the charge of his voyage must also be defrayed. The delay, uncertainty and expense of this arrangement form very great difficulties, in the way of any definite suggestion; and we must confess our inability at present to submit any positive recommendation.

16. The expense of the establishment, independent of the salary of the professor, could not, we imagine, be very heavy, a native assistant, and few persons to keep

Teaching of science—contd.

the apparatus and rooms in order, would be sufficient, and would not involve an expense, we presume, exceeding Rs.100 per month. It might be requisite occasionally to purchase chemical articles, or they might be furnished from the medical stores, in either case the aggregate amount could not be very considerable.

17. We are now prepared to submit our suggestions with regard to the Government Hindu College, and the building which is to be erected for the Native College or Vidyalaya.

18. For the former of these, the ground is provided, and the plan generally approved. An estimate amounting to Rs. 46,690, or eventually 50,000 has been submitted to the Military Board; and it is understood sanctioned by them, though not officially; some slight modifications being made, of but little importance. It may therefore be considered that this amount of cost is that, which it has been determined to incur. The departure of the architect Captain Buxton from Calcutta and the delay inseparable from the execution of public works by the Superintendent of Public Buildings, in consequence of his excessive occupation, render it highly expedient that a private builder should be employed. Application has accordingly been made to Messrs Burn & Co., and their final reply is subjoined, engaging to erect the college for Rs. 53,961 within a period of 22 months (the latter inclusive of the adjacent building). Independent of their known character as builders, they have had a free communication with Captain Buxton, and have received from him the instructions, on which their estimate is founded. The estimate has also received his sanction; and he has further promised, whenever occasion calls him to Calcutta, to inspect the progress and execution of the work. It has been thought sufficient therefore to rest satisfied with the offer of Messrs. Burn & Co.

19. The Government having determined to build a school room for the Native Hindu College, and to connect it generally with their own Sanscrit College, it is of course highly desirable that it should be as near at hand as possible. The same object influences the position of the lecture room; and this combination obviously suggests a uniformity of architectural design, as well as local position. We have therefore obtained a plan from Captain Buxton, on this principle; the arrangement, as far as the school is alone affected, having previously received the concurrence of the managers of the Vidyalaya. The expense of this building will be Rs. 15,998 and the charge will be the same, of course, independent of the site; whilst by its juxtaposition to the college, and the corresponding elevation of the lecture rooms, the range of the buildings will be complete, and will form a respectable embellishment of its proposed situation.

20. The construction of the college, with these two additional buildings, will amount to Rs. 85,961 but a further cost must be incurred for the ground on which the two latter are to be erected. This ground may be obtained on the spot, and with reference to the growing value of land in that part of the town on reasonable

terms.—Mr. Hare the proprietor consenting to dispose of it at Rs. 500 per cottah, the whole on the north side of the square being purchased. The additional ground it will be necessary in consequence to buy amounts to 3 beegahs and seven cottahs, making a total of five beegahs and seven cottahs. The cost of the additional ground will be Rs. 33,500, making the whole sum to be expended Rs. 119,461. Of this it has already been determined to incur for the two colleges from Rs. 60 to 70,000, and the greater part of the additional cost being the price of the ground, it may be considered only as an investiture of capital, involving merely an inconsiderable sacrifice of interest. *Teaching of science*—concld.

21. We have only to add that with reference to the period, that has elapsed since the date of the resolution of Government to found the Sanscrit College of Calcutta (21 August 1821) we should strongly recommend its being at least partially put in action. It will be very practicable to rent a convenient house in the native part of the town; engage some of the pundits and admit to the foundation pupils, to the earlier classes, at least, whenever it shall please Government to authorize such an arrangement.

We have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) J. H. HARINGTON.
,, J. P. LARKINS.
,, W. B. BAYLEY.
,, H. SHAKESPEAR.
,, HOLT MACKENZIE.
,, H. T. PRINSEP.
,, A. STIRLING.
,, H. H. WILSON.
,, J. C. C. SUTHERLAND.

CALCUTTA;

The 6th October 1823.

(24) *Extract from the despatch, dated 18th February 1824, to the Governor-General in Council, Bengal.**

79. The ends proposed in the institution of the Hindoo College,† and the same may be affirmed of the Mahomedan, were two; the first to make a favourable *Despatch of 18th Feb. 1824.*

* Printed in part in *Evidence of 1832*, Appendix I, No. 6 [331/488].

† The Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

Despatch of 18th Feb. 1824— contd.

impression by our encouragement of their literature upon the minds of the natives; and the second to promote useful learning. You acknowledge that if the plan has had any effect of the former kind it has had none of the latter; and you add " that it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone far to destroy the influence which the liberality of the endowment would otherwise have had."

80. We have from time to time been assured that these colleges though they had not till then been useful were in consequence of proposed arrangements just about to become so; and we have received from you a similar prediction on the present occasion.

81. We are by no means sanguine in our expectation that the slight reforms which you have proposed to introduce will be followed by much improvement, and we agree with you in certain doubts whether a greater degree of activity even if it were produced on the part of the masters would in present circumstances be attended with the most desirable results.

82. With respect to the sciences it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages what is desirable is that they should be translated and this, it is evident, will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry; but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most effectual expedient for the attainment of the end.

83. In the meantime we wish you to be fully apprised of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us. But we apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning, but useful learning. No doubt in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted while every thing which was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing under these reservations a system of instruction from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing on the other hand to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned

84. We think that you have taken upon the whole a rational view of what is best to be done. In the institutions which exist on a particular footing alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and feelings will dictate; at the same time that incessant endeavours should be used to supersede what is useless, or worse, in the present course of study by what your better knowledge will recommend. *Despatch of 18th Feb. 1824—concld.*

85. In the new college which is to be instituted and which we think you have acted judiciously in placing at Calcutta instead of Nuddea and Tirhoot, as originally sanctioned, it will be much farther in your power because not fettered by any preceding practice, to consult the principle of utility in the course of study which you may prescribe. Trusting that the proper degree of attention will be given to this important object we desire that an account of the plan which you approve may be transmitted to us and that an opportunity of communicating to you our sentiments upon it may be given to us before any attempt to carry it into execution is made.

(25) *Letter, dated 18th August 1824, from the General Committee of Public Instruction to the Governor-General.**

To

The Right Hon'ble William Pitt, Lord Amherst, *Governor-General in Council, Fort William.*

My Lord,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Persian Secretary to Government, dated the 16th ultimo, forwarding extracts of a despatch from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, under date the 18th February 1821,† on the subject of the Education of the Natives of British India. *General Committee, 18-8-1824.*

2. We are happy to find that the sentiments expressed in the letter from the Hon'ble Court are, upon the whole, in unison with those principles by which the Committee of Education have hitherto regulated their proceedings. The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they have proposed as the end of the measures adopted, or recommended by them; at the same time they have kept in view that, "in the institutions which exist on a particular footing, alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a regard to existing interests and feeling

* Printed in *the Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories*, 1853, Minutes of Evidence, p. 18f.

† This is the date given in the published letter, but clearly it should be 18th February 1824 (document 24). Fisher states [255/436] that that document was communicated to the Committee and quotes from their reply, *viz.*, the present document (No. 25).

General Committee, 18-8-1824
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will dictate "; and they are aware of the necessity of " employing Mohammadan and Hindu media, and of consulting the prejudices of the Mohammadans and Hindus," in any attempts to introduce improved methods or objects of study which are calculated to be attended with success.

3. Whilst the Hon'ble Court have thus recognised the principles under which the existing institutions should be carried on, they have been pleased to express it as their opinion, that the plans of the Hindu College at Benares and Mohammadan College at Calcutta, were " originally and fundamentally erroneous," and that in establishing Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or Mohammadan Literature, " the Government bound themselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned."

4. The remarks made on former institutions of the Government may not be thought to require any comment from us particularly, as it is admitted that it is necessary to proceed with caution in introducing any modification of their system. As applicable however, generally, and as connected with the Hon'ble Court's injunctions to respect native prejudices and feelings, we beg leave to offer some observations on the circumstances which have hitherto influenced, and which we are of opinion, must continue for some time to regulate the constitution and conduct for Seminaries for the purpose of native education.

5. In the first place, without denying that the object of introducing European literature and science may have been somewhat too long overlooked, it may be questioned whether the Government could originally have founded any other seminaries, than those which it actually established ; *viz.*, the Madrassa, to teach Mohammadan literature and law, and the Benares College, to teach Sanscrit literature and Hindu law. Those colleges were founded for Mohammadans and Hindus respectively, and would have been of little value to either, if they had proposed to teach what neither were disposed to learn. It may be added, what else had the Government to offer, on any extensive scale ? What means existed to communicating anything but Mohammadan and Hindu literature either by teachers or books ? It was therefore a case of necessity, and almost all that the Government in instituting a seminary for the higher classes could give, or the people would accept through such a channel, was oriental literature, Mohammadan or Hindu. Instruction in the English language and literature could have been attempted only on the most limited scale, and as they could not, we apprehend, have been at all introduced into seminaries designed for the general instruction of the educated and influential classes of the natives the success of the attempt may well be doubted.

6. We have no doubt that these points will be evident to the Honourable Court on further consideration, and we need not further dwell npon them, at least with

General Committee, 18-8-1824—contd.

reference to the past. The Honourable Court, however. seem to think that the same circumstances no longer impede the introduction of useful knowledge, and that in establishing a college in Calcutta, it should not have been restricted to the objects of Hindu learning; on this point, we beg to observe, that the new Sanscrit College in Calcutta was substituted for two colleges proposed to be endowed at Tirhut and Nuddiya, the original object of which was declaredly the preservation and encouragement of Hindu learning. So far therefore, the Government may be considered pledged to the character of the institution, though the pledge does not of course extend to bar the cautious and gradual introduction of European science in combination with the learning which the people love. It is however of more importance to consider, that the Government had in this as well as in former instances, little or no choice, and that if they wished to confer an acceptable boon upon the most enlightened, or at least most influential class of the Hindu population (the learned and Brahmanical caste), they could do so only by placing the cultivation of Sanscrit within their reach; any other offer would have been useless; tuition, in European science, being neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of Government to bestow.

7. In proposing the improvement of men's mind, it is first necessary to secure their conviction, that such improvement is desirable. Now, however satisfied we may feel that the native subjects of this Government stand in need of improved instruction, yet every one in the habit of communicating with both the learned and unlearned classes, must be well aware, that generally speaking, they continue to hold European literature and science in very slight estimation. A knowledge of English, for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, is, to a certain extent, a popular attainment, and a few of the natives employed by Europeans, accustomed to an intimate intercourse with their masters, may perceive that their countrymen have something in the way of practical science to learn. These impressions, however, are still very partial, and the Maulavi and Pundit, satisfied with their own learning, are little inquisitive as to any thing beyond it, and are not disposed to regard the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment. As long as this is the case, and we cannot anticipate the very near extinction of such prejudice, any attempt to enforce an acknowledgment of the superiority of intellectual produce amongst the Natives of the West could only create dissatisfaction, and would deter those whose improvement it is most important to promote as the best means of securing a more general amelioration, the members of the literary classes, from availing themselves of the beneficence of the Government, by placing themselves within the reach of instruction.

8. The actual state of public feeling is therefore, we conceive, still an impediment to any general introduction of western literature or science, and although we believe the prejudices of the natives against European interference with their

General Committee, 18-8-1824—contd.

education in any shape, are considerably abated, yet they are by no means annihilated, and might very easily be roused by any abrupt and injudicious attempts at innovation, to the destruction of the present growing confidence from which, in the course of time, the most beneficial consequences may be expected. It is much, in our estimation, to have placed all the institutions maintained by Government under direct European superintendence, and from the continuance of that superintendence exercised with temper and discretion, we anticipate the means of winning the confidence of the officers and pupils of the several seminaries, to an extent that will pave the way for the unopposed introduction of such improvement as we may hereafter have the means of effecting.

9. But supposing that the disposition of the native mind was even as favourable as could be desired, we know not by what means we could at once introduce the improvements that we presume are meditated. The Honourble Court admit the necessity of employing Hindu and Mohammadan media, but where are such to be obtained for the introduction of foreign learning ? We must teach the teachers and provide the books, and by whom are the business of tuition and task of translation to be accomplished ? Until the means are provided, it would be premature to talk of their application, and we must be content to avail ourselves of the few and partial opportunities, that may occur for giving encouragement to the extension of a knowledge of the English language amongst those classes, whence future preceptors and translators may be reared. To do this with any good effect, however, we must qualify the same individuals highly in their own system as well as ours, in order that they may be as competent to refute errors as to impart truth, if we would wish them to exercise any influence upon the minds of their countrymen.

10. Under the present circumstances, therefore, the still vigorous prejudices of both Mohammadans and Hindus, and the want of available instruments for any beneficial purpose of greater extent, we conceive that it is undoubtedly necessary to make it the business of Government institutions intended for those classes respectively, to teach (we hope not long exclusively) Mohammadan and Hindu literature and science.

11. Without wishing to enhance the value of Oriental studies beyond a fair and just standard, we must beg further permission to state that, in our judgment the Honourable Court has been let to form an estimate of their extent and merits not strictly accurate. The Honourable Court are pleased to observe that " it is worse than a waste of time " to employ persons either to teach or learn the sciences in the state in which they are found in Oriental books. This position is of so comprehensive a nature, that it obviously requires a considerable modification, and the different branches of science intended to be included in it must be particularised before a correct appreciation can be formed of their absolute and

comparative value. The metaphysical sciences, as found in Sanscrit and Arabic writings, are, we believe, fully as worthy of being studied in those languages as in any other. The arithmetic and algebra of the Hindus lead to the same principles as those of Europe and in the Madressa, the elements of mathematical science, which are taught, are those of Euclid ; law, a principal object of study in all the institutions, is one of vital importance to the good Government of the country, and language is the ground work upon which all future improvements must materially depend. To diffuse a knowledge of these things, language and law especially, cannot, therefore, be considered a waste of time, and with unfeigned deference to the Honourable Court, we most respectfully bring to their more deliberate attention that, in the stated estimate of the value of the Oriental sciences, several important branches appear to have escaped their consideration.

General Committee, 18-8-1824 —contd.

12. With respect to general literature also, we should submit that some points can scarcely have been sufficiently present to the minds of the Hon'ble Court when the orders in question were issued. The Honourable Court observe, that any historical documents which may be found in the original languages should be translated by competent Europeans. But without dwelling on the magnitude of the task, if Mohammadan history is to be comprehended, or questioning the utility of employing Europeans in this branch of literature, we beg leave to remark that there appears to be no good reason why the Natives of India should be debarred from cultivating a knowledge of their own historical records, or why the translations of the countries in which they have a natural interest, should not be deserving of their perusal.

13. Besides science and historical documents, the Honourable Court observe, " what remains in Oriental literature is poetry, but that it never has been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry." We are not aware that any colleges in India have been established with this view, although we believe few colleges exist in any country in which poetical works are not taught to a great extent, and it would be taking a very narrow view of the objects of education to exclude them. We do not know, indeed, how any language and literature can be successfully studied if its poetical compositions are not cultivated with considerable attention ; as a part, therefore, and a very important part of Sanscrit and Arabic literature, as the source of national imagery, the expression of national feeling, and the depository of the most approved phraseology and style, the poetical writings of the Hindus and Mohammadans appear to be legitimately comprehended amongst the objects of literary seminaries, founded for Mohammadans and Hindus.

14. Under these considerations, and upon a deliberate view of the real circumstances of the case, we flatter ourselves that the Honourable Court will feel disposed to approve of the arrangements that have been adopted or are in progress with the sanction of your Lordship in Council, for the improved education of the natives

General Committee, 18-8-1824—concld.

of this country. We must for the present go with the tide of popular prejudice, and we have the less regret in doing so, as we trust we have said sufficient to show that the course is by no means unprofitable. At the same time we are fully aware of the value of those accessions which may be made from European science and literature, to the sum total of Asiatic knowledge, and shall endeavour, in pursuance of the sentiments and intentions of Government, to avail ourselves of every favourable opportunity for introducing them when it can be done without offending the feelings and forfeiting the confidence of those for whose advantage their introduction is designed.

We have, etc.,

(Signed) J. H. HARINGTON.
" J. P. LARKINS.
" W. W. MARTIN.
" J. C. C. SUTHERLAND.
" H. SHAKESPEAR.
" HOLT MACKENZIE.
" H. H. WILSON.
" A. STIRLING.
" W. B. BAYLEY.

CALCUTTA;
The 18th August 1824.

*(26) Address, dated 11th December 1823, from Raja Rammohan Roy.**

Address by Rammohan Roy.

SIR,

I beg leave to send you the accompanying address and shall feel obliged if you will have the goodness to lay it before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

I have, etc.,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

CALCUTTA;
The 11th December 1823.

* Printed in (1) G. TREVELYAN'S *Education of the people of India*, pp. 65-71; (2) C. H. CAMERON'S *Address to Parliament on the duties of Great Britain in India*, etc., pp. 83-87.

To

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble WILLIAM PITT, LORD AMHERST.

MY LORD,

HUMBLY reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances, as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

Address by Rammohan Roy —contd.

The establishment of a new Sangscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the Natives of India by Education,—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful; and every well wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful Sciences, which the Nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened of the Nations of the West with the glorious ambitions of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of modern Europe.

We now find that the Government are establishing a Sangscrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This Seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical

Address by Rammohan Roy —contd.

niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sangscrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of the valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sangscrit College; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sangscrit in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new Seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to those most eminent Professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakurun or Sangscrit Grammar. For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *Khad* signifying to eat, *khaduti*, he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word *khaduti*, taken as a whole, convey the meaning *he*, *she*, or *it eats*, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word? As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat*, how much in the *s*? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by those two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly?

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant:—In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity? What relation does it bear to the divine essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, etc., have no actual entirety, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing

Address by Rammohan Roy —concld.

certain passages of the Veds, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of the Ved, etc.

Again the student of the Nyaya Shastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the Universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, etc.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon, with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sangscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

In representing this subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

I have, etc.,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

CALCUTTA;

The 11th December 1823.

CHAPTER VI

Macaulay's Minute.

This controversy, which came to a head in 1823, dragged on and led in 1835 to Lord Macaulay's famous minute. The Committee of Public Instruction was divided against itself in the matter—witness Mr. H. T. Prinsep's minute of the 9th July 1834 and his note of the 15th February 1835 (documents Nos. 27 and 31). Further evidence of the condition of things is given in two letters from the Secretary of the Committee (documents Nos. 28 and 29). These last were the occasion of Macaulay's minute, which is re-printed *in extenso* (document No. 30). Lord Bentinck's Resolution of the 7th March 1835 (document No. 32) appeared to close the controversy, the history of which is given in the next chapter as document No. 33.

The famous minute was not generally known at the time. It is said to have been published in England in 1838, but this is doubtful. Macaulay himself re-read it again in 1853 and possibly showed it to Cameron.* Allusions to it were made in or about that year. The Director of Public Instruction in Madras reproduced it in 1855;† Woodrow published it in 1862,‡ together with other *obiter dicta* of the great essayist; and the minute was republished soon after in a London Magazine. The original manuscript copy of the minute has been lost. But there is among the Government of India records an authenticated copy, from which the document here given is taken.

Document No. 31 is of particular interest. It appears never to have been published. The manuscript bears the marginal remarks of Lord Macaulay written in pencil with his own hand.

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* See C. H. Cameron, *An address to Parliament*, etc., 1853, p. 64.

† A. J. Arbuthnot, *Selections from the records of the Madras Government* No. ii, 1855.

‡ H. Woodrow, *Macaulay's minutes on education in India written in the years 1835, 1836 and 1837 and now first collected from the records in the Department of Public Instruction*, 1862.

(27) *Extract from a minute by the Hon'ble H. T. Prinsep, dated the 9th July 1834.*

Minute by H. T. Prinsep, 9th July 1834.

The Secretary of the Sub-Committee of the Madrissa has sent to me for perusal the proceedings and correspondence connected with that Institution. It had escaped his recollection that I was a member of this sub-committee and hence I was not summoned to its meeting and had no opportunity before of making myself acquainted with its proceedings since the date of my departure to sea in November 1832.

I now first learn that on the 26th April 1834 at a meeting of the sub-committee at which only Messrs. Shakespear and Colvin were present the following resolution was passed :

"The Committee being of opinion that the time has arrived for encouraging more openly and decidedly the study of English in the Madrissa resolved that from the present date no student be elected to a scholarship unless on the express condition of studying English as well as Arabic."

This Resolution if allowed to stand, will have the effect of converting an institution established and endowed specifically for the revival and encouragement of Arabic literature for the education of Kazees and Moulvies into a mere seminary for the teaching of English. I protest against this measure as hasty and indiscreet, as preventing the funds of an endowment from the purposes to which they were specifically assigned and as involving nothing less than a breach of trust. If the teaching of English be attempted to be put on any other footing than a course of study thrown open to the students of the Madrissa to be undertaken or not at their perfect option; if a preference of any be given to it in the distribution of jageers, we shall be making a change in the character of the Institution such as nothing but an order of the Government which made the endowment could justify. But the resolution goes further than this. It not only gives preference to those who study English but gives to them a monopoly of the jageers, that is, it makes English the *sine quâ non* of study at a College of Moulvies. The next step will be to transfer the Professors' allowances to teachers of English and then will follow in due course the voting of Arabic and Persian to be dead and damned. I protest against this course of proceeding at the first step and feel so strongly on the subject that unless this resolution be rescinded I cannot retain my seat in this Sub-Committee.

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(28) *Extract from a letter, No. 2093, dated 21st January 1835, from J. C. C. Sutherland, Esq., Secretary, General Committee of Public Instruction, to the Secretary to Government in the General Department.*

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General Committee, 21st Jan. 1835.

14. The recurring and inconvenient discussions to which I have referred, whatever their immediate form or subject, have all had their origin in a division of opinion on a few important fundamental questions, the decision in which can proceed only from the Supreme Government. These questions may be most briefly described to be the following: The benefit and the duty of communicating the knowledge of European literature and science, through the medium of direct instruction in the English language, the utility or the policy of affording encouragement to the cultivation of the oriental systems of learning and of the learned languages of the Mahomedans and the Hindoos, and the propriety or expediency (even should the advantage of direct instruction through the medium of the English language be admitted) of superseding by such instruction the course of oriental studies in the institutions which have been already established with an express view to the promotion of oriental literature.

15. There are many obvious considerations of difficulty connected with the important questions above stated. They embrace, indeed, when regarded in all their extent and consequences, the whole subject of the most proper means for the fulfilment, as far as depends on the effect of direct instruction, of the one great duty of England towards India, that of improving the minds and elevating the character of the Indian people. They require for their determination a full advertence alike to present circumstances and to ultimate wants and objects; and the most condensed and practical discussion of them could not fail to be very voluminous, and to include various topics of speculative and, perhaps, doubtful argument.

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18. On the necessity of soliciting some decisive general instructions from the Government, all the members of the Committee are agreed. The *paramount* value and obligation of communicating direct instruction in English literature and science in seminaries for higher education, endowed and supported by the Government, and the justice and expediency of modifying, though with all proper caution and regard to actual circumstances and claims, the systems of the *existing* Government institutions so as to render such instruction a principal branch of the studies prosecuted in them are the immediate propositions of importance advocated strongly by one portion of the Committee and disputed, though perhaps on varying grounds

and in different degrees, by the other, on which it is most requisite that the sentiments of Government should be declared. *General Committee, 21st Jan. 1835*—concld.

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22. As respects the former of these considerations, the view of some of the Committee who dissent from the proposition may be best expressed from the following extract from paragraphs,* which have been suggested for the draft of the General Report for 1833 of the Committee's operations: "This portion of our Committee fully appreciates the importance of creating a taste for English science and literature amongst the natives, the extension of which cannot but contribute to a wider diffusion of European knowledge in the vernacular dialects, but they deem it to be their first duty to revive and extend the cultivation of the literature of the country, and regard the introduction of the science and literature of Europe as an improvement to be engrafted thereupon, rather than an object to be pursued exclusively, or with any marked and decided preference."

* Proposed paras. for the section of the draft regarding the Delhi College.

23. Modifying, perhaps, in some degree the terms of the position laid down in the above extract, there are others of the same division of the Committee who are generally of opinion that it is not necessary nor advisable that the Government should manifest a preference for any particular system of learning, and who would recommend, as the most wise and becoming course for its observance, that it should afford an indifferent and equal encouragement to all systems, as instruction in them might appear to be demanded by the state of opinion and feeling among the people themselves.

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55. The foregoing 41 paragraphs must be considered as containing the sentiments and views of Messrs. BIRD, SAUNDERS, BUSHBY, COLVIN and TREVELYAN, and though not conveyed in that form are tantamount to a minute recorded by them. Much of their views are opposed to the rest of the Committee, whose opinions and arguments I shall have the honour of submitting in a letter which I shall address you under tomorrow's date. To have embodied them in this address would have swelled it to an unusual size.

(29) *Extract from letter, No. 2094, dated 22nd January 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction to Government.*

7. Two great principles were early laid down by this Committee as fundamentally essential to the accomplishment of the purposes indicated in the Act; and *General Committee, 22nd Jan. 1835.*

General Committee, 22nd Jan. 1835—concld.

these were first that the Committee should in all things endeavour so as to shape its conduct and proceedings as to win the confidence of the educated and influential classes of the people and if possible to carry these classes within them in all the measures they might adopt for the revival and improvement of the literature of the country.

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10. The second principle laid down by the Committee was that whereas the funds at their disposal were quite inadequate to any purpose of general and universal instruction the best application that could be made of them consistently with the ends in view was to assist the seminaries of more advanced education through which only the Committee could hope to revive and improve the literature of the country and to encourage learned men.

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23. The cause advocated by the party whose sentiments are conveyed in my letter of yesterday is not that of science and literature at all, but of rudimental English as a means of eventually pursuing the course into literature and science, should life be long enough and the inclination last.

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25. Against such a spirit of innovation the other Members of the Committee most strongly protest, and they confidently rely on the Government to support them in the maintenance of the great principles that have heretofore from the time when the Committee was first instituted guided all its measures and proceedings.

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30. Upon all these questions, as well as upon a variety of others, the Committee is divided, and for the final decision of them it has been agreed to submit the present reference to the supreme authority, and to be guided, of course, by the result.

31. This address may be considered as conveying the general views and opinion of Mr. H. SHAKESPEAR, Mr. H. T. PRINSEP, Mr. W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Mr. J. PRINSEP and myself.*

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* J. C C. Sutherland.

(30) *Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, dated the 2nd February 1835.**

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835.

As it seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen† who compose the Committee of Public Instruction that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813‡ and as, if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will be necessary to warrant a change, I have thought it right to refrain from taking any part in the preparation of the adverse statements which are now before us, and to reserve what I had to say on the subject till it should come before me as a Member of the Council of India.

It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can by any art of construction be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied. A sum is set apart "for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature the Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanscrit literature; that they never would have given the honourable appellation of "a learned native" to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity. This does not appear to be a very satisfactory interpretation. To take a parallel case: Suppose that the Pacha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were to appropriate a sum for the purpose "of reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt," would any body infer that he meant the youth of his Pachalik to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency if, instead of employing his young subjects in decyphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?

The words on which the supporters of the old system rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This

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* For reference to previous publications see pp. 205, 206

† See document No. 29, p. 105.

‡ See document No. 7, p. 22.

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

lakh of rupees is set apart not only for "reviving literature in India," the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also "for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories"—words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend.

If the Council agree in my construction no legislative act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will propose a short act rescinding that clause of the Charter of 1813 from which the difficulty arises.

The argument which I have been considering affects only the form of proceeding. But the admirers of the oriental system of education have used another argument, which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system, and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanscrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice, now unhappily too common, of attributing them to things to which they do not belong. Those who would impart to abuses the sanctity of property are in truth imparting to the institution of property the unpopularity and the fragility of abuses. If the Government has given to any person a formal assurance—nay, if the Government has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation—that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or a learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests. I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a Government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be exploded, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instrument from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed. But, had it been otherwise, I should have denied the competence of our predecessors to bind us by any pledge on such a subject. Suppose that a Government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should, to the end of time, be inoculated for the small-

pox, would that Government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery? These promises of which nobody claims the performance, and from which nobody can grant a release, these vested rights which vest in nobody, this property without proprietors, this robbery which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine. I consider this plea merely as a set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

I hold this lakh of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of promoting learning in India in any way which may be thought most advisable. I hold his Lordship to be quite as free to direct that it shall no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit, as he is to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chaunting at the cathedral.

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be? One-half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be—which language is the best worth knowing?

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the oriental plan of education.

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasureable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us,—with models of every species of eloquence,—with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled,—with just and lively representations of human life and human nature,—with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade,—with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia,—communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall

countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are, in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society, of prejudices overthrown, of knowledge diffused, of taste purified, of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

The first instance to which I refer is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost everything that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted,—had they neglected the language of Thucydides and Plato, and the language of Cicero and Tacitus, had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island, had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman French,—would England ever have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments—in history for example—I am certain that it is much less so.

Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilised communities. I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class abounding with persons fit to serve the State in the highest functions, and in nowise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire which, in the time of our grand-fathers, was probably behind the Punjab, may in the time of our grand-children, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change effected? Not by flattering national prejudices; not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old women's stories which his rude fathers had believed; not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas; not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or not created on the 13th of September; not by calling him "a learned native" when he had mastered all these points of know-

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

ledge; but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

And what are the arguments against that course which seems to be alike recommended by theory and by experience? It is said that we ought to secure the co-operation of the native public, and that we can do this only by teaching Sanscrit and Arabic.

I can by no means admit that, when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary however to say anything on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence, that we are not at present securing the co-operation of the natives. It would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither. We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate.

This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh this undisputed fact, that we cannot find in all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him.

I have now before me the accounts of the Mudrassa for one month, the month of December, 1833.* The Arabic students appear to have been seventy-seven in number. All receive stipends from the public. The whole amount paid to them is above 500 rupees a month. On the other side of the account stands the following item:

Deduct amount realized from the out-students of English for the months of May, June, and July last—103 rupees.

I have been told that it is merely from want of local experience that I am surprised at these phœnomena, and that it is not the fashion for students in India to study at their own charges. This only confirms me in my opinions. Nothing is more certain than that it never can in any part of the world be necessary to pay men for doing what they think pleasant or profitable. India is no exception to this rule. The people of India do not require to be paid for eating rice when they

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* See document No. 12, p. 36, which gives the accounts for 1823. There were then 75 students receiving Rs. 773 a month.

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

are hungry, or for wearing woollen cloth in the cold season. To come nearer to the case before us :—The children who learn their letters and a little elementary arithmetic from the village schoolmaster are not paid by him. He is paid for teaching them. Why then is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic ? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.

Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the committee by several ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had studied in the college ten or twelve years, that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindoo literature and science, that they had received certificates of proficiency. And what is the fruit of all this ? "Notwithstanding such testimonials," they say, "we have but little prospect of bettering our condition without the kind assistance of your honourable committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them." They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor-General for places under the Government—not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. "We want means," they say, "for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot obtain without the assistance of Government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood." They conclude by representing very pathetically that they are sure that it was never the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

I have been used to see petitions to Government for compensation. All those petitions, even the most unreasonable of them, proceeded on the supposition that some loss had been sustained, that some wrong had been inflicted. These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated gratis, for having been supported by the public during twelve years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. They represent their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the Government for redress, as an injury for which the stipends paid to them during the infliction were a very inadequate compensation. And I doubt not that they are in the right. They have wasted the best years of life in learning what procures for them neither bread nor respect. Surely we might with advantage have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable. Surely, men may be brought up to be burdens to the public and objects of contempt to their neighbours at a somewhat smaller charge to the State. But such is our policy. We do not even stand neuter in the contest between truth and falsehood. We are not content to leave the natives to the influence of their own hereditary prejudices. To the natural

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

difficulties which obstruct the progress of sound science in the East, we add great difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth, we lavish on false texts and false philosophy.

By acting thus we create the very evil which we fear. We are making that opposition which we do not find. What we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit Colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth. It is bounty-money paid to raise up champions of error. It goes to form a nest not merely of helpless place-hunters but of bigots prompted alike by passion and by interest to raise a cry against every useful scheme of education. If there should be any opposition among the natives to the change which I recommend, that opposition will be the effect of our own system. It will be headed by persons supported by our stipends and trained in our colleges. The longer we persevere in our present course, the more formidable will that opposition be. It will be every year reinforced by recruits whom we are paying. From the native society, left to itself, we have no difficulties to apprehend. All the murmuring will come from that oriental interest which we have, by artificial means, called into being and nursed into strength.

There is yet another fact which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The committee have thought fit to lay out above a lakh of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanscrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries or rather the lumber-rooms of this body. The committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, one should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanscrit books during those three years has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime, the School Book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing but realizes a profit of twenty per cent. on its outlay.

The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanscrit books, and the Mahometan law from Arabic books, has been much insisted on, but seems not to bear at all on the question. We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a Law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the Code is promulgated the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a moonsiff or a Sudder Ameen. I hope and trust that, before the boys who are now entering at the Mudrassa and the Sanscrit College have completed their studies, this great work will be finished. It would be mani-

festly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood. *Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835*—contd.

But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and the Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably or decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the State, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what texts of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat ?

It is taken for granted by the advocates of oriental learning that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this. But they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling-book education. They assume it as undeniable that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and Arabian literature and science on the one side, and superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains sufficiently to relish even the more delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the Continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at

Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835—contd.

the Sanscrit College, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and even to imitate not unhappily the compositions of the best Greek authors. Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophocles ought to enable a Hindoo to read Hume and Milton.*

To sum up what I have said. I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813, that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, that we are free to employ our funds as we choose, that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing, that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic, that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic, that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement, that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books. I would abolish the Mudrassa and the Sanscrit College at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahminical learning; Delhi of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit College at Benares and the Mahometan College at Delhi we do enough and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger

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* In 1836 Mr. MACAULAY himself examined the students of the Hindu College. See J. KERR. *A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851*, II, p. 29. ED.

encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta, and establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught. *Macaulay's minute, 2nd Feb. 1835*—concld.

If the decision of His Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel also that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends not to accelerate the progress of truth but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting the public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank—for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology—for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceedings, I must consider, not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

T. B. MACAULAY.

2nd February 1835.

I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this Minute.

W. C. BENTINCK.

(31) *Note, dated the 15th February 1835, by H. T. Prinsep (with marginal notes by Macaulay).*

It seems to me that there are some points touched upon in the Minute of the Hon'ble Mr. Macaulay that require to be set right by an explanation of the facts or by more clearly stating the views and principles against which the arguments of the minute are directed where these appear to have been misunderstood. For as the question before the Government is of the first importance and the proposi- *Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835.*

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835—contd.

tions to which it leads such as if any step be taken hastily and without a thorough comprehension of the subject in its different bearings the Government may be committed irretrievably to measures hateful and injurious to the mass of the people under its sway such as it might repent afterwards when too late—it behoves every one that can contribute anything towards clearing it of fallacies or further elucidating any of the material points to bring forward what he may have to say before rather than after the Government's determination is taken. My note will be short for I propose merely to point out where in the minute before Government the opposite view has not been fully stated or where the information built upon is incomplete or incorrect. It is not my purpose to make a laboured advocacy of the cause of oriental literature; for neither my pursuits, inclinations nor acquaintance with the subject qualify me for such a task.

First in respect to the legal question.

It is submitted that the Act 53 Geo. III must be construed with special reference to the intention of the Legislature *of that day*. So construed there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any person that by "the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of *learned natives*" the legislature* *did not* mean to refer to any other literature than native literature nor to any other learned natives than such as were eminent by their proficiency in that literature. These were the persons *then* intended to be produced and encouraged and it is surely forcing the words out of their natural construction when it is argued that the revival of native literature can best be effected by abolishing all institutions for teaching the literature that then existed and that had existed for ages before and by communicating instruction only in English.

* On the legal question I have had the opinion of Sir E. Ryan. He pronounces that there is not the shadow of a reason for Mr. Prinsep's construction.

T. B. M.

I do not feel overwhelmed by this authority.

[H. T. P.]

With respect to the analogy to the position of the Pasha of Egypt there can be no doubt that if he were to talk of *reviving* and promoting literature in that country his meaning would be the literature and language *last* existing in Egypt, *viz.*, that borrowed from Arabia and accordingly we do see him cultivating and reviving that and teaching medicine and other sciences in that. The example is worthy of imitation. There is no talk there of reviving the mummy literature of Osiris nor in India of going beyond what we found prevailing throughout but languishing for want of encouragement.

With respect to rescinding any provisions of the Charter act of 1813 by a legislative Act of the Indian Government I have before argued that question and it cannot be necessary to revert to it.

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835— contd.

The next point is that the Institutions established for communicating instruction in Arabic and Sanskrit are endowments to which funds have been permanently and irrevocably appropriated. Against this it is argued that Government cannot have pledged itself to perpetuate what may be proved noxious, that there is no *right of property* vesting in any body and that requires to be respected as such*—therefore that to take these funds from these purposes and objects and direct them to other that may be thought by the rulers of the day to be more beneficial is no spoliation or violation of any *vested interest* but on the contrary that the annual Lakh of Rupees set apart by the act of Parliament may annually be applied to such purposes as may each year be thought most conducive to the great end—the revival and encouragement of literature and the promotion and cultivation of Science.

* I leave my minute to defend itself on this head. [T. B. M.]

Upon this it is to be observed first that the argument as to the inviolability of endowments was never applied to any Institution paid out of the Parliamentary grant of a Lakh of Rupees. It was adduced only in behalf of the Mudrisa which was specifically an endowment made by Warren Hastings more than fifty years ago and for the support of which certain Funds, *viz.*, the *land revenue* of the Mudrisa Muhal part of which is included in the Barrackpoor park were specifically assigned. At first the Institution was left to the uncontrolled management of the Moola placed by Mr. Hastings at its head. The *Muhal* however was under the Khas management of the Board of Revenue and the varying amount realized from it was placed at the Moolavee's disposal. Subsequently the Muhal was made over at a fixed Jama to the Raja of Nudeea when he was restored to his estates of which this formed a part. Except therefore that the direct management of the lands was not in the hands of the Principal and Professors and Fellows of the College this was assuredly as complete an Endowment as any of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge or as the Blue coat school in London can boast of. The purpose was declared to be the education of Moolavees and Kazees and the cultivation of Arabic learning, and from the day of the Institution's first establishment to this present time degrees and certificates have been granted entitling persons to assume the style and to exercise the functions of Moolavee and Kazee in like manner as degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor are conferred in Europe.

The Government exercised towards this institution the functions of Waqif or Endower which are distinct and well defined in law and by the practise of the country resembling those of directing visitor but more extensive than any enjoyed by visitors in Europe. In the exercise of these powers the Government had reformed the Institution and placed it on a footing efficient for the purposes intended by the founder *before* the Parliamentary grant of 1813 was made. It was transferred

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835—contd.

to the Committee appointed to carry that act into execution not as an Institution established under it and paid from the funds appropriated therein to Education but because the Committee was deemed the fittest organ for the execution of the functions of visitor. The Mudrusa had before a separate Committee which merged into the General Education Committee and therein the connexion of this latter with it. The argument therefore that the Government is free to deal with its lakh as it pleases does not touch this particular Institution—the Government proceedings and determination in respect to which must be guided by specific reference to the conditions of its establishment and to its present position. If there be any thing positively noxious in the existence of a seminary of this kind that of course may be an argument for correcting what is bad or if the mischief be past correction for abolishing root and branch the irredeemable evil. But surely Government is not yet prepared to put forth a declaration that such is the light in which it regards the instruction of all its subjects of the Mooslim faith—of this however more presently.

With respect to the argument that the Government cannot be pledged to perpetuate any course of instruction for that it has created no *property* and there is no one that can pretend to possess a *vested interest*. This, in so far as it denies to collegiate institutions a right which I believe in Europe they have always stoutly asserted and hitherto maintained, is a question that may be left to be battled by the Universities in England. Nothing on earth can hope to be perpetual and property of every kind is of itself the most mutable of things. By the hand of time, by the act of God, by foreign violence or internal convulsion everything most prized and most valued may be swept away in an instant. To all these sources of ruin to *vested interests* must be added the changeful opinions of mankind and the caprices of those who rule. The Government doubtless may set up and abolish Institutions with the same facile rapidity with which it creates and abolishes offices and passes acts and Regulations. The question is one of wisdom and expediency. Is it wise and beneficial for a Government so to act as to destroy the hope that what is, and has been, will be lasting ? Does not every Government on the contrary derive strength and influence from encouraging its subjects to look upon certain classes of its actions as permanent and binding upon itself and its successors ? The establishment of such an Institution as the Mudrusa is most assuredly an act of this description and class—and in every part of the world when the ruling Power has made an appropriation of funds or through other means established a Seminary of the kind for Education whether it be to teach Latin and Greek or to teach English to the Catholic uneducated Irish or for any purpose of supposed utility the appropriation has been respected and held sacred by those who have followed. It is only in this country that it would be proposed not to improve and make perfect and correct errors in the Institutions already established by the

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835—contd.

liberality of those who have gone before, but upon a vague impression that the object is not beneficial wholly to *abolish* and *dissolve* them.

In behalf of the Mudrusa more claim to permanency has not been asserted than is allowed elsewhere to similar Institutions and Seminaries. Let it be dealt with as a charity school or college of England liable to fall to corruption and to need the hand of the governing power to correct its abuses and reform its practise, nay even to suit it to the advancing opinions of the day. The proposition for its abolition goes a great deal further.

The minute assuming apparently the Mudrusa to be one of the Institutions supported out of the Lakh of rupees appropriated by Parliament proceeds to the question what is the most useful mode of employing that fund. It is laid down that the vernacular dialects are not fit to be made the vehicle of instruction in science or literature, that the choice is therefore between English on one hand and Sanscrit and Arabic on the other—the latter are dismissed on the ground that their literature is worthless and the superiority of that of England is set forth in an animated description of the treasures of science and of intelligence it contains and of the stores of intellectual enjoyment it opens. There is no body acquainted with both literatures that will not subscribe to all that is said in the minute of the superiority of that of England but the question is not rightly stated when it is asserted to be this " whether, when *it is in our power to teach this language* "*—that is English—we shall teach those which contain no books of value. The whole question is—have we it in our power to teach everywhere this English and this European science? It is in doubting nay in denying this that those who take the opposite view maintain the expediency of letting the natives pursue their present course of instruction and of endeavouring to *engraft* European Science thereon.

An analogy is drawn between the present state of India and that of Europe at the time of the revival of letters. The cultivation of English is likened to the study of Latin and Greek in those days and the grand results that have followed are held out as an example to be imitated hereby inculcating English in order that a Bengalee and Hindee literature may grow up as perfect as that we now have in England. This however is not the true analogy—Latin and Greek were to the nations of Europe what Arabic and Persian are to the Mooslims and Sanscrit to the Hindoos of the present population of Hindoostan and if a native *literature* is to be created it must be through the improvements of which these are capable. To the great body of the People of India English is as strange as Arabic was to the knights of the dark ages.† It is not the language of the erudite

† It cannot be more strange than Greek was to the subjects of Henry the Eighth. [T. B. M.]

* Page 110.

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835— contd.

of the clergy and of men of letters as Latin always was in Europe and as Arabic and Persian are extensively in Asia.

The analogy of Russia is less convincing.* It is through communication with foreigners through imitation and translations that the Russians are building up a native literature. This is the method that is specifically advocated by those who despair of making English the language of general adoption or the vehicle for imparting a knowledge of the sciences to the millions who compose the population of India. The argument would only have weight if, in the schools and colleges of Russia, German were now or had ever been the *exclusive* organ through which the youth of that country derived instruction which it assuredly is not and never was.

* Not the fact. The Russian educated class has acquired all that it knows by means of English, French, German, etc. From the English, French and German it is now beginning to imitate and to translate. This is exactly the course which I hope and trust that the educated class of our native subjects will follow.
[T. B. M.]

But to proceed to the real arguments of the minute. It is said that in teaching Arabic and Sanscrit we are not consulting the intellectual taste of the natives but are "forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate."† If there were the slightest ground for believing that the great body of the Mooslims did not venerate to enthusiasm their Arabic and Persian literature‡ or to believe that the Hindoos as a body were not partial to their Sanscrit then of course would the whole case or those who advocate the prosecution of those studies require to be thrown up. This however is a matter of fact and of opinion that cannot be conceded to either party upon mere assertion. It is necessary to examine the grounds upon which so startling a a proposition as that above stated is advanced and maintained.

‡ Men may have a great veneration for a language and not wish to learn it. I have seen Rhadacant Deb since the last council. He tells me that no body in India studies Sanscrit profoundly without being paid to do so. Men of fortune learn a little superficially. But he assures me that to the best of his belief there is not, even at Benares, a single student of the higher Sanscrit learning who is not paid.
[T. B. M.]

The minute proceeds "This is proved by the fact that we are *forced* to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students while those who learn English pay us........We cannot find in all our vast empire a *single* student who will let us teach him those dialects unless we will pay him."§

These assertions are supported by adducing from the report upon the Mudrusa of Calcutta the circumstance that there were in December 1833 seventy seven Arabic Students on that foundation receiving in the aggregate above Rs. 500 per

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† Page 112.
§ Page 112.

Prinsep's note. 15th Feb. 1835— contd.

mensem while in three months Rs. 103 were collected by the English master from out-students who paid for his instruction in that language. The contrast is dwelt upon as conclusive but a very little explanation will suffice to show that the argument is quite groundless.

There are ordinarily taught in the Mudrusa between two and three hundred youths. The Government scholarships are eighty and if the President of the Education Committee would attend the next examination of candidates for these scholarships he would see in the keenness of the competition and in the proficiency of the candidates abundant evidence that the salaried scholars are not the only persons in our Indian Empire who learn the rudiments of Persian* and Arabic literature. I am no Sanscrit scholar and never attended the examinations of that college in Calcutta nor do I pretend to much acquaintance with its constitution or with the rules under which its scholarships are given away but only the other day the Education Committee received a report of the examinations of the Sanscrit College at Benares and it cannot have escaped the president of that Committee to have observed that, although the jageers or scholarships were only 130, upwards of three hundred students pressed forward for examination.

* I said nothing of Persian. I am assured that nothing deserving the name of a learned Arabic education is received at the Mudrusa by any unpaid student. I acknowledge my own ignorance on the subject.

[T. B. M.]

In truth the jageers or monthly allowances given at the Mudrusa and in the Sanscrit Colleges and elsewhere are in all respects similar to the Scholarships of the Universities or to the foundation Scholars of the Public Schools of England. They are given not as inducements to study the language but as the rewards of successful study and in order to keep at the institution for the prosecution of further studies those who by their progress evince a love of science and the qualification to become learned men, Moolavees or Pundits. Most of those who enjoy these jageers are themselves the teachers of many pupils, teachers in the college to those who attend there for instruction and teachers at home in families of the better order to those who prefer that their sons shall be so instructed.

Whether it is expedient or not to give these stipendiary provisions as rewards for ardent study and to keep students longer at their education by means of them is a question that has heretofore been argued in the Committee of Public Instruction. Something is to be said on both sides and although the Committee heretofore decided in favour of the practise it does not follow that they may not have decided wrong. But however this may be the fact that there are paid scholars on the establishment or foundation of any seminary affords no ground for assuming that none would learn if they were not paid, yet this is the argument of the minute. As well might it be assumed from the fact that there are foundation scholars at

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835— contd.

Eton and scholarships in all the Colleges of both Universities in England that no body would learn Latin and Greek if it were not for these stipendiary advantages. Be it Latin and Greek or Mathematics or Law or Arabic and Sanscrit literature or be it English the principle is the same. Scholarships are given and it is thought right to give them to reward and encourage the poor scholar and to lead as well through the excitement of competition as by lengthening the course of study to the attainment of higher proficiency. In the Mudrusa itself separate scholarships have been established for proficients in English in order to encourage the study of that language. If this be a conclusive argument that the study of English is nauseated because it requires to be paid for, then may it be applied to Arabic and Sanscrit and to Mathematics and to all other studies. All must participate in the reproach or it will evidently apply to none.

But the fact remains to be explained that a sum of Rs. 103 was collected in three months from out students of English whereas nothing is shown by the accounts of the Mudrusa to have been collected from out students of Persian and Arabic. Everybody knows that with Moolavees and Pundits, for both profess the same principle in this respect, it is meritorious to give instruction gratis and sinful to take hire or wages from the pupil who receives it. The teacher's remuneration is always in the way of a present and perfectly voluntary.* The English Master on the other hand who is a Christian and who has been appointed by the Committee to the Mudrusa acts on quite different principles and not only deems it no sin to take payment for the lessons he gives but makes a special demand of it from all who appear to him to have the means of paying. The wonder is rather, considering that the teacher in this instance is a first rate instructor and that he gives instruction to *Hindoos* as well as *Mooslims*, that more was not realized. The fact that a sum of about Rs. 30 a month was realized when upwards of three hundred per mensem is paid from the Committee's funds to the Schoolmaster is surely no proof of the violent desire for instruction in English which is inferred from it. If again the desire of this instruction were so great how comes it to have been proposed to make the learning of English compulsory in the Mudrusa and how does it happen that of all the students now in the Mudrusa there are but two who have made progress beyond the spelling book.

* The sum, if the accounts are rightly drawn up, is paid to the College—not directly to the master, so that the explanation is defective.

[T. B. M.]

No, the money was levied by the Master and paid over to the College Funds. This is all I meant to state.

[H. T. P.]

Undoubtedly there is a very widely spread anxiety at this time for the attainment of a certain proficiency in English. The sentiment is to be encouraged by

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835—contd.

all means as the source and forerunner of great moral improvement to those who feel its influence but there is no single member of the Education Committee who will venture to assert that this disposition has yet shown itself extensively amongst the Moosulmans.* It is the Hindoos of Calcutta, the Sirkars and their connexions and the descendants and relations of the Sirkars of former days, those who have risen through their connexion with the English and with public offices, men who hold or who seek employments in which a knowledge of English is a necessary qualification. These are the classes of persons to whom the study of English is as yet confined and certainly we have no reason yet to believe that the Moosulmans in any part of India can be reconciled to the cultivation of it much less give it a preference to the polite literature of their race or to what they look upon as such.

* There is no good English school for the Mussulmans; and one of our first duties is to establish one.

[T. B. M.]

The minute proceeds to cite a petition from certain students of the Sanscrit College complaining that their studies did not secure them an assured and easy livelihood as affording another conclusive argument against extending encouragement to such studies. But surely the disappointment of the too sanguine hopes of any class of persons as to their future provision in life affords no evidence that the knowledge they have acquired is useless. Much research and patient investigation would be indispensible before any determination could be come to on the important question to native youth at this moment how best to secure respect in after life and by what course of education to provide themselves the best chance of a comfortable livelihood. In all times and amongst all people this is an important question for youth but more especially to the youth of India at present when society with all its institutions is so evidently in the transition state. This argument again even were it sound as respects the study of Sanscrit has evidently no application to the Mudrusa and to those who study Arabic and Persian. These at least have never complained that through proficiency in their studies their means of obtaining a livelihood have not been improved nor will it be maintained that the study of both is not at this moment highly useful for this great purpose of life.

But the great argument remains to be noticed and that is that by encouraging the study of native literature we create the very opposition which is adduced as the chief obstacle to the introduction of the study of English and of true science. This is a most important question but seems to involve the previous one—does or does not the prejudice exist ? It is declared by those who take the opposite view to Mr. Macaulay that it does exist and that the prejudice is so general especially amongst the Moosulmans that there is no hope of our being able by the mere offer of instruction in English and English science to secure that it shall be received for

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835— contd.

its own sake. These persons say that the best chance of procuring that true knowledge shall ultimately prevail is to *engraft* it upon the course of education now most esteemed and to take every means of leading the youth to the improved condition in which it is desired to place them by giving them first all they respect and admire in their fathers and then besides the further instruction we have to impart. The argument on the other side is that unless we violently assail and displace the false literature that we see held up as erudition and learning we shall by continuing instruction in it create opposition to the reception of the new. Now this argument on the very face of it seems to assume that the possessors of the old literature are necessarily opposed to the new, it seems to build upon the impossibility of reconciling the two and yet in the same breath we are told that all the world is anxiously seeking the new and attaches no value to the old.

On the other hand it is maintained that, if at this time the desire for European science and literature is extensively felt and is still on the increase, the cause of it is to be found in the manner in which the Government interfere with the work of education which was commenced and has hitherto been carried on, and in particular to the strict observance of the principle of encouraging every course of education that is followed by any extensive class of the population and doing violence to no existing feelings whether of prejudice or prepossession.

It is maintained that by following this course we bind and perpetuate no enmities but on the contrary mitigate and reconcile opinions and doctrines that seem adverse and when we recollect that out of the philosophy of the schools the same philosophy that is the highest point of knowledge in Arabic and Sanscrit grew the very philosophy we wish to inculcate, *viz.*, that of Bacon and Locke and Newton,* why should we despair of engrafting on the similar stock of Arabia and India a similar fruit ?

* Monstrous assertion !
J. E. D. B[ETHUNE].

With respect to the expenditure upon printing and translating in regard to which it is argued that the fact that the books of the Committee do not sell is proof conclusive that the money is thrown away and that there is no taste for the literature it was meant to encourage, I fear it must be admitted that very considerable sums have been thrown away upon works which have yielded no fruit. The translations have been the most expensive and the least profitable of these works, for they have been executed at very enormous rates of charge and in a style for the most part not popular and taking. I quite agree that the funds appropriated to revive literature ought not to be lavished on works that will not pay and that for the printing of those that will pay, there can be no need of aid from Government. But I do not admit that because we have failed to make our printing

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835—contd.

and translating a profitable speculation that therefore there is no taste for the literature. Our prices have been exorbitant and our works* childish or ill got up. This alone accounts for their not being taken off our hands and as for the fact that private Printing establishments find a profit in printing English School Books they have had the extensive patronage of the Committee and of Mofusil institutions and more especially of Missionary schools and a growing Christian population to provide. Besides which the relative expense of printing in the native languages as compared with that of printing in English will of itself account for the difference. Our books be it observed have been mostly printed at the same press which is referred to as having thrived by its printing business and it has thrived mainly at our expense. However there is not I believe in the Committee of public instruction a single advocate for a continuance of the printing and translating business on the footing on which it has hitherto been conducted.† It has been ruinously expensive and has yielded no return but we see establishments for printing Persian and Arabic books as thriving as the English Presses and numberless books and little treatises are issued from them of which we hear nothing. The text book of the Moolavees who recently rose in insurrection is an instance in point. Although printed in Calcutta it was not heard of by Europeans until the sect broke out into rebellion.

* They are, I believe, among the most celebrated works in the Sanscrit language.

[T. B. M.]

† I rejoice to hear it. For within the last few weeks several minutes have been recorded which would have led me to form a very different opinion.

[T. B. M.]

If we print anything we ought to print the Surya Sidhant and the books that have been proposed but I am perfectly ready to give up all printing.

[H. T. P.]

If our translations and the books of our selection have not hit the taste of the reading classes or have been too dear for them to purchase it is a reason for discontinuing the provision of such but no proof that there is no taste for anything that might be provided. There are applications in abundance for our books as presents and we know not when one is issued how many copies are made from it at less cost even than that we ask to compensate the charge of publication. The price too paid by the Committee for native publications is the first subscription price and the Committee is always undersold by the presses which supply them books for they sell the reserved copies at a reduced price.

The minute proceeds to say that it cannot be necessary to keep up instruction in Arabic and Sanscrit because of the connection of these languages with the religion of the Hindoos and Mooslims. I have never heard this reason assigned‡ as an argument for a Christian Government's continuing to give the instruction. The circumstance has been referred to as both proving and accounting for the confirmed veneration these classes have for their respective literatures and

‡ It has been distinctly assigned. [?]

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835— contd.

because it has sometimes been denied that the natives have any respect for their own literature which is quite inconsistent with the idea that all their religion is wrapped up in it.

It is on account of the connection of these languages with existing laws that the necessity of continuing instruction in them has been maintained. This argument is met in the minute by reference to what the *Law Commission* are *expected* to do and what the Legislature intends should be done.* Herein however is an admission that for so long as this intention is unfulfilled the motive for continuing instruction in that which is the law, exists in full force.

* Surely it would be most unreasonable to educate a boy of fifteen with a view to fitting him for a state of things which we fully purpose to alter by the time that he is five and twenty. [T. B. M.]

The nature of the instruction in English that will have to be imparted is the next point. Those opposed to the discontinuance of instruction in Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian maintain that in place of them the Committee would have to *commence* everywhere teaching the English alphabet. It cannot surely be denied that this must be the beginning. The minute dwells on the capability of the natives to attain high proficiency. This may be admitted as a result to be expected hereafter but if the teaching of English be substituted everywhere for the perfecting of youths in their present courses of education does it not follow as a necessary consequence that we shall have to substitute the teaching of the alphabet and spelling book for instruction in advanced literature? The candidates for admission into our Arabic and Sanscrit Colleges know already much of those languages and are prepared to be taught science. The students we should get for English would require to be taught to read.†

† Of course every body must begin a language at the beginning. The only question is whether we may reasonably expect in a few years to make an intelligent native youth a thoroughly good English scholar. And I do not now find that this is disputed. [T. B. M.]

To the recapitulation at the close of the Minute I have nothing new to object. It is admitted that we must endeavour to carry the people with us in all we seek to do for their improvement. The party whose sentiments I am endeavouring to express argue to the question what are the best, indeed to their minds the only means of doing this. Their opponents, looking to grand results to follow when all the desired improvements have been effected, pass over altogether the necessary consideration of means. Ofter *volo jubeo* is their policy on this great question. The abolition of the Mudrusa and Sanscrit College at Calcutta and the alteration of the character of all other Institutions supported or assisted from the Public funds is their proposition but it is submitted that there are many considerations which should protect the Mudrusa at least from any present demolition. It is the only link through which the Government has at present any connection whatsoever with the instruction of the Mooslim youth of Bengal, it is not one of the passing institutions of

recent establishment for the support of which funds are assigned from the Parliamentary lack of Rupees but is an old established college endowed separately and efficiently performing the purposes of the endowment. If this be doubted let the fact be made the subject of enquiry the more searching the better will the advocates of this institution be satisfied. Even though the Committee of General Instruction should come to a resolution or should be desired by Government to change altogether the principles by which it has hitherto been guided in the application of the Parliamentary grant, it would by no means follow that the Mudrusa should be placed on a different footing. The Moosulman subjects of the Government are much more jealous of innovation upon their habits and their religion than the Hindoos ever were. When it was first proposed to teach them English they consulted their oracle of the day Uzeezooddeen of Dehlee as to whether it was sinful to yield to the innovation. He gave them a most sensible answer and since then not only has English and English science been extensively taught but much progress has been made in instilling correct moral principles and reconciling the sect to further improvements. Such a measure at this time as the abolition of the Mudrusa would produce alienation in this wide class of the population....*instead of aiding would impede if it did not prevent any further improvement. To the principle of conciliation it is decidedly opposed and will universally be looked upon as touching close upon intolerance.

Prinsep's note, 15th Feb. 1835 —concld.

I have written much more than I had intended or thought would be necessary and yet feel that I have not half stated all that I have myself to urge on this important question. The cause has many advocates who also deserve to be heard before Government shall come to a final determination. There is a minute by Mr. Macnaghten about to be sent up by the Education Committee which seems entitled to much attention and I am sure that not only that gentleman but every member of the Committee would wish to be heard upon any resolution passed for abolishing the Mudrusa. In the height of the discussion as to the proper course to be followed by the Committee for promoting the improvement of the education of the country such a proposition was never brought forward by any one of those most opposed to the continuance of instruction in Arabic and Sanscrit. It is now submitted separately and it is my hope that I have shown sufficient ground to induce the Members of Government to suspend their judgment at least...... ....† of investigation.

H. T. PRINSEP.

Sunday, 15th February 1835.

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* Original torn.
† Original torn.

I retain (not only)* unshaken but confirmed (in all my) opinions on the general question. I may have committed a slight mistake or two as to (details), and I may have occasionally used an epithet which might with advantage (have been) softened down. But I do not retract the substance of a single proposition I have advanced.

[T. B. M.]

(32) (*Lord Bentinck's*) *Resolution of the 7th March 1835.*

Resolution, 7th March 1835.

On the 7th of March 1835 the following Resolution † was issued :—

" The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.‡

First.—His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India ; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

d.—But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any College or School of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies ; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions ; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the

* The original is torn down the middle and the words in brackets are, conjectural. (Ed.)

† Printed in (1) COMERONS *Address to Parliament*, pp. 81-82 ; (2) *Madras Selections, II*, 1855, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

‡ Documents Nos. 28 and 29.

Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor. *Resolution, 7th March 1835*—concld.

Third.—It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth.—His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the antive populotion a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIENTALISTS' POINT OF VIEW.

But the controversy was not dead. Nor was Lord Bentinck's resolution to stand unchallenged. It was too revolutionary. An interesting extract from the diary of H. T. Prinsep, the protagonist of the Orientalists, shows the state of public feelings. It is printed as document No. 33. In a minute of the 20th May 1835, he attacked Macaulay's views and the resolution (document No. 34). Meanwhile, on the 11th of April 1835, the Committee of Public Instruction had adopted certain propositions, among which one (accepted by the Government) was in favour of the establishment of the schools "for the teaching of English literature and sciences through the medium of the English language." It was proposed to make a beginning at Patna and Dacca. The papers are printed as documents Nos. 35 and 36.

(33) *Extract from the Diary of H. T. Prinsep.**

H. T. Prinsep's diary.

I shall not attempt to describe in detail all that was done by the Governor-General† during the short period of his stay in Calcutta, after his return from Ootacamund, but shall confine myself to two or three matters of my own departments in which I was a principal actor. The first was connected with the measures for the promotion of education among the natives. The Government had commenced, as I have stated, with the endeavour to incorporate instruction in the sciences of Europe and in English literature upon the foundation of the native institutions which existed for teaching the vernacular languages and Sanskrit literature to Hindus or that of Arabic and Persian to Muhammadans. There was, however, a class of Anglo-Indians and the younger civil servants mostly joined it, who were opposed to Government's assisting to give instruction in any kind of Eastern litera-

* In 1865 he wrote an autobiographical sketch of his official life, which, however, he did not publish. (*Dic. Nat. Biog.* xvi, p. 393.) The following extract was supplied by Sir E. D. Ross.

† Lord Willaim Bentinck. Prinsep is most severe on Lord Bentinck, whom he regarded as unduly suspicious and meddiesome, but to whom he gives credit for honesty of intention.

ture or science, the whole of which they declared to be immoral, profane or nonsensical. They especially attacked the Sanskrit mythology and in this they were aided of course by the missionaries, but the use of Persian in our courts and in the correspondence of the Governor-General was also an object of their antipathy. It had been yielded to this party during Lord Bentinck's administration to require the law courts' proceedings to be recorded in the vernacular language of the several districts instead of uniformly in Persian in all districts. Several of this party were now in the Council of Education when I retook my place therein after my return from Tasmania, and I found there a contest to be raging whether in the Calcutta Madrassa and other institutions maintained by Government, English should be preferentially taught and the study of that language made obligatory on all or as hitherto be left optional under the inducement of the benefit in after life which the knowledge of it would confer. I took part of course against the innovations which this party wanted to introduce, and I carried with me the vote of the majority of the Council of Education. But when T. B. Macaulay arrived to be the new legislative member of the Council of India, his high literary reputation induced the Government to appoint him President of the Council of Education, and the English party, as it was called, entertained high hope that his influence and authority would turn the scale against me and my supporters. He was a mere silent observer, however, for some time, until Lord W. Bentinck had resumed his place at the seat of Government, then one day without mooting the matter at all in the Council of Education, he prepared an elaborate Minute proposing not only to withhold any further grant of public money from institutions for conferring instruction in native literature of any kind, but even to abolish the existing Sanskrit and Madrassa colleges to which Government had made grants many years ago, that of the Madrassa dating from the time of Warren Hastings. This Minute T. B. Macaulay gave to Lord W. Bentinck at Barrackpur, the Governor-General's country-house. Lord William sent it down to me (the Educational being one of my Secretariat Departments) with a short note written at the foot adopting it and desiring it to be put in train to be brought before Council. I accordingly circulated it in a box in the usual form. The box was returned to me without a note or memorandum of any kind from any of the Members. I accordingly considered it my duty to prepare and circulate a memorandum explaining the nature of the institutions proposed to be abolished, and giving reasons why they should hesitate to adopt the extreme views propounded by Mr. Macaulay. This memorandum I sent up to the Governor-General and it was afterwards circulated to the Members of the Council from whom it elicited separate short minutes of their opinions. These discussions of course were confidential, and were by me communicated to nobody. But somehow the report got wind that the Government was about to abolish the Madrassa and Sanskrit Colleges. The mind of the public of Calcutta was immediately in a ferment. In

H. T. Prinsep's diary—concld.

three days a petition was got up signed by no less than 30,000 people in behalf of the Madrassa and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College. T. B. Macaulay took it into his head that this agitation was excited and even got up by me. He sent for the Head of the Madrassa who of course was the recognised promoter of the Muhammedan petition, and questioned him upon the subject, using for interpreter John Colvin, a junior civil servant, who was in the Council of Education and of the party opposed to me. He particularly asked him whether he had obtained from me or from my office the knowledge of its being the intention of Government to do anything with the Madrassa. The Hafiz (as the head teacher of the Madrassa was called) answered decidedly in the negative. After this examination he came to me to tell me what had passed : upon hearing it I asked from whom he had got the information, when he told me it was from John Colvin himself who had acted as interpreter, for he had been at Barrackpur when T. B. Macaulay presented his Minute to Lord W. Bentinck, and there learning that it was adopted by the Governor-General had come back elate at the triumph of his party, and could not help boasting of it to the people of the College.

When the subject came under consideration in Council, there was a very hot argument between myself and Mr. Macaulay. The issue was the resolution that was published not abolishing existing colleges, but requiring them to teach English as well as native literature and making the former obligatory, also giving some encouragement to vernacular studies, but declaring that all Government pecuniary aid in future should be given exclusively to promote the study of European science through the medium of the English language. Lord W. Bentinck would not even allow my memorandum to be placed on record. He said it was quite an abuse that Secretaries should take upon themselves to write memorandums ; that it was enough for the Court of Directors to see what the Members of Council chose to place on record ; that what the Secretaries wrote was nothing unless adopted by the Government. Thus ended this matter for the time. The Resolution passed on this occasion was modified afterwards and made a little more favourable for the old native institutions by Lord Auckland, but English has ever since been the study preferentially encouraged by Government in connection with vernacular literature. The study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian is, in consequence, less cultivated than heretofore, but none of the old institutions have been altogether abolished.

(34) *Minute by H. T. Prinsep, dated the 20th May 1835.*

H. T. Prinsep's Minute, 20th May 1835.

At the meeting of the Council when the letter of the Secretary to the committee of Public Instruction forwarding the Minute of Mr. W. H. Macnaghten was laid before us it was resolved by the majority not to reconsider the resolutions

H. T. Prinsep's Minute, 20th May 1835—contd.

passed by the late Governor-General in Council on the 7th March last but to allow them to stand as the rules for the guidance of the Committee in their future proceedings. My voice and vote were with the minority on this occasion, and, as I think the question of the first importance, concerning deeply the character and credit of the Government, and look upon the decision that has been passed as calculated to alienate the affections of all the influential classes of the population and to do infinite injury in other respects I am not content to give a silent vote.

It is laid down in the resolution above referred to that " the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science " and " that *all* funds appropriated to purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." Leaving, however, all existing professors and students in seminaries of oriental literature now supported by Government in possession of their stipends, it is ordered that no scholarships or stipends shall hereafter be given to students ; and, upon a vacancy occurring in any *oriental* professorship, a special report is to be made to Government upon the number and condition of the class, (so) that the Government may decide whether it shall be continued. No funds are to be expended hereafter in printing oriental works, and all the funds left at the disposal of the Committee by the discontinuance of oriental professorships, scholarships, and printing are to be devoted to the teaching of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language.

This resolution is looked upon by Mr. Macnaghten and by those who think with him in the Committee as containing a hostile declaration against the literature of the country inconsistent with past and with recent professions of the Government, as proclaiming a principle unfair and illiberal in itself and calculated to set against us those without whose co-operation we can do nothing to promote science and literature, and as ordering an entire change in the course of proceedings pursued hitherto by the Committee with eminent success ; such a change too has rendered it impossible that the same men, whose influence and exertions in the Committee and weight of character in the country have mainly contributed to that success, should continue to act as members, thus depriving the cause of public instruction of all the aid derived from their talents and information and marking in the face of the world that a course is about to be pursued which they cannot reconcile with their ideas of fairness and propriety. This however is not all ; Mr. Macnaghten refers to the Act of Parliament which made the assignment of funds the appropriation of which has been trusted to this Committee. He there finds that " the revival and promotion of literature " amongst the natives of India and " the encouragement of learned men " are specifically indicated as the objects first to be provided for from the funds assigned. He doubts not, and neither can any one that reads the provision and refers to the proceedings that occurred when it passed, doubt that the literature meant to be so revived and encouraged was the literature of the two

H. T. Prinsep's Minute, 20th May 1835—contd.

great classes of the population, the Moosulmans and the Hindoos. Of course this was not to be to the exclusion of other useful knowledge, the improvement of the country in science and civilization being not less an object with the framers of the act than the revival of its literature, accordingly words follow those above cited which declare the funds assigned to be *also* applicable to " the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences." But the whole scope and tenor as well as the literal meaning of the provision shows that the two objects were intended to be combined and prosecuted in concert. They have been so hitherto and the funds have accordingly assumed a distribution providing for all that is thus indicated. The revival of literature has been promoted by the assistance given to seminaries of education previously existing, and by the establishment of fresh, and likewise through the printing and publishing of classical works hitherto only to be procured in manuscript. To these objects a certain proportion of the funds assigned has been made applicable. The encouragement of learned men, the next thing indicated, has been effected as well through the support afforded them in institutions of education and in the superintendence and preparation of works for publication as by other advantages incident to the system pursued, amongst which not the least effectual is the provision for securing prolonged study by stipends to promising students. All this has been done for the natives and their literature, while the establishment of English classes in all existing seminaries and of fresh seminaries specifically for the teaching of English and English science and the attempts made by translation to make that science accessible to those ignorant of English have all had for their object the fulfilment of the other purposes indicated in the Act of 53rd Geo. III, *viz.* " the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences," assuming this to mean the sciences of Europe. Thus, while through the old established seminaries and by their reform upon principles approved by the influential classes connected with them, and through the printing and publishing of their classics the first purpose indicated in the words of the Act has been sought to be accomplished, there has yet remained applicable to the cultivation of European science and English literature by far the larger proportion of the new fund set apart in 1813 by the legislature. If a comparison were to be made of the sums spent in printing native works and in providing new machinery for teaching the languages of the east or new stipends for successful scholars of its literature with the amounts lavished on English masters and on teachers of the rudiments of European science and on professors of law and metaphysics and natural philosophy, etc., etc., it will be found that the former bear but a small proportion to the aggregate of the latter thus showing that in the appropriation of the lakh of rupees even on the principles of the Orientalists, the desire to teach our own language and literature and science has always prevailed over the revival of the old literature and that we have given to what is last stated in the enactment as a purpose of assignment, perhaps even

an undue preference. It has always, however, been a matter of discussion and difference amongst the members of the Committee where the line ought to be drawn—some desiring to give more to one branch, some to the other, but never yet has there been any one member of the Committee who has gone the length of the Government resolution and expressed the opinion that all the funds set apart by the Act of Parliament for the different objects therein declared ought to be *employed on English education alone*, to the exclusion of even the vernacular dialects of the country.

H. T. Prinsep's Minute, 20th May 1835— contd.

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The fourth member of the Legislative Council of India had then recently been appointed President of the Committee of Public Instruction but in this reference and the discussion of which it was the issue he had taken no part. After the two letters of the Committee submitting the reference had been sent in, Mr. Macaulay laid before the Governor-General the minute of his views on the subject which is recorded in the proceedings of the Executive Council and is the basis of the resolution of the 7th March.

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This minute was evidently a partizan paper advocating in a controversial and not very moderate tone the cause of one section of the Committee. It proceeded further than the warmest advocates of that side had yet ventured. Its assertions and arguments therefore demanded some investigation before they should be adopted as the basis of any grave proceedings of the Government. Without instituting, however, any such enquiry and, as far as is known to me without consulting any one of those in whom he was in the habit of placing confidence, the late Governor-General immediately upon the perusal of the minute in question, before any of the papers had been laid before the Council or discussed, added to it the declaration of his entire concurrence and so forwarded it to the Secretary of the Department for circulation. I circulated it and in a few days the box was returned to me with a brief minute by Mr. Ross, stating his own opinion to be opposed to the grant of scholarships and his wish that all should be left free to follow the course of instruction they preferred but without notice of the statements of doubtful accuracy contained in the minute of Mr. Macaulay. I was not then aware of Colonel Morrison's intention to record his opinion on the subject. His minute reached me some days afterwards. In the interval, however, of the circulation of Mr. Macaulay's minute it got wind I know not from what quarter that it was the intention of Government to abolish the Mudrusa and Sanscrit colleges. I was waited upon twice by the head preceptor of the former and utterly denied that there was any such intention. But the report was too widely circulated, and too well vouched to be so checked and the whole town of Calcutta was soon in a ferment. In the course of two days a

H. T. Prinsep's Minute, 20th May 1835—contd.

petition respectful in language but strong in the points to which it adverted was signed by upwards of eight thousand educated Mohommedans, and a similar petition in behalf of the Sanscrit College was under preparation by the Hindoos. Seeing this ferment and sensible of the mischief that must follow the adoption to the full of the recommendations contained in the minute of Mr. Macaulay which seemed to me to be assented to by the Governor-General, I took upon myself, in my capacity of Secretary, to submit to the Head of the Government a note explaining many of the circumstances on which Mr. Macaulay had, in my opinion, built erroneous conclusions or had written from imperfect information. I forwarded my note to the Governor-General and was at first asked through Mr. Pakenham, the Private Secretary, to withdraw it under a verbal assurance that the minute of Mr. Macaulay would be sent down to the Committee of Education of which he was President, and myself a member, in order that the matter might there be fully argued and discussed. I was of course satisfied that the mischief should be so stopped and circulated the note no further. In the meantime Colonel Morrison also appeared alive to the importance of the question and recorded his minute in behalf of native literature in which he deprecated any hasty innovations hostile to it and concluded with recommending a reference of the question to England. The matter was brought forward at the very next meeting of Council when this recommendation as well as the promise held out to me, were both disregarded and the resolution of the 7th March was passed, stopping short indeed of the threatened abolition of the Sanscrit and Arabic colleges but directed towards the insidiously undermining of both, and for the first time avowing the principle that oriental literature and instruction were thenceforward to receive no further aid from Government, not being considered objects deserving of its encouragement. The resolution is evidently founded on the minute of Mr. Macaulay above adverted to, and not upon the references from the Committee at large to the points submitted in which it nowhere adverts. It is thus based upon a minute advocating with all the warmth of controversy one particular side of a debated question without the opportunity having been given to those opposed to this view to offer any explanations or reply. Nay the late Governor-General would not allow the answer prepared to it to appear on record, for upon finding that Mr. Macaulay's paper was not to be referred to the Committee of Public Instruction for further discussion, as I have been led to expect would be done, I submitted to His Lordship whether my note also should not be recorded for the correction of some of the statements of the minute which were erroneous or founded on imperfect information. I was met by a rebuke for having taken upon myself so much, accompanied by the declaration that Secretaries are the organs and not advisers of the Government and that their submitting notes at all was under sufferance and an irregularity.

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H. T. Prinsep's Minute, 20th May 1835—concld.

I think, therefore, I am fully warranted by what fell under my view in the course of the whole transaction in calling the resolution of the 7th March a rash Act.

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I have gone into great length in stating the impressions left on my mind by the measure I have above discussed, and yet I feel that there is an infinity more to say. I have not thought it necessary to make on this occasion any detailed reply to the minute of Mr. Macaulay in which the measure originated, because although my previous note discussing its propositions has not been recorded the substance of it is well known to the members of Government and it would be reviving a discussion already set to rest were I again to go over the same grounds.

I fear I cannot expect that the question will now be reopened. I record this minute, therefore, as a protest against the continuance of measures founded on the principles of the resolution of the 7th March and as a declaration of the extremely mischievous and injurious tendency which I believe to be inherent in them. The true principle in my opinion is that of leaving the natives to choose their own courses of education and to encourage all equally on the part of Government making it our business to give to them the direction to true science and good taste in literature which the superior lights of Europe ought to enable us to bestow. Any deviation from this principle of free choice and equal encouragement can only do mischief to the cause by exciting feelings of distrust and perhaps irritation.

I need not add in conclusion that I am decidedly adverse to printing the resolution of the 7th March in order to give it further publicity as is proposed in the last letter on the subject received from the Committee.

H. T. PRINSEP.

20th May 1835.

(35) *Letter No. 2174, dated the 20th April 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction to the Government of India.*

Letter dated 20th April 1835 from the General Committee.

Statement (A) showing the details of oriental works under impression on account of the Committee.

Statement (B) showing by estimate the financial condition of the General Fund.

Since my letter of the 9th instant which acknowledged their receipt the General Committee of Public Instruction has more fully considered the Instructions of the Supreme Government of the 7th ultimo, and I am directed to submit for approval of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the annexed eight propositions† which have been adopted by the Committee with reference

† Document No. 36, p. 142.

The Committee's proposals, 20th April 1835— contd.

to the orders quoted and to forward at the same time the statements mentioned in the margin with the following explanations.*

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* The statements are here given in brief (Ed.).

STATEMENT A.

Books under impression, etc.

Hindustani	Translation from the Greek of Geometry and Trigonometry.
	Translation of Hutton's Mathematics.
Arabic	Futtwa Alamgiri.
	Translations of (1) Crocker's Land Surveying, (2) Hooper's *Vade Mecum*, (3) Bridge's Algebra.
Persian	Khazanatul Ilm.
Sanskrit	Maha Bharat.
	Sustara.
	Kalidasa's Naishadha.
	Raj Tarungini.
	Translation of Hooper's *Vade Mecum*.

Books subscribed for.

Sanskrit	Biga Gunita.
	Vivada Chintamuni.
	Translation of Hutton's Geometry.

	Rs.
Total expenditure incurred	29,463
Liabilities for printing	15,104
Liabilities for subscriptions	1,800
TOTAL	46,367

STATEMENT B.

Financial estimate for 1835.

	Authorised appropriation.	Charge in January, 1835.	Charge in coming year.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Institutions, etc.	1,74,954	1,65,657	1,46,138
Committee's office	12,000	12,000	14,500
Oriental publications	15,000	7,800	...
Subscription and purchase of books	8,000	11,422	15,000
Contingencies	...	1,300	1,500
TOTAL	2,09,954	1,98,179	1,77,138

2. Statement A shews the oriental works under impression and their state of progress under the orders of Government. The Committee proposes (with reservation which will be mentioned) to suspend the further progress of these works and recommends that it be authorised to make over the unfinished copies to any societies or persons willing and competent to finish them.

The Committee's proposals, 20th April 1835—contd.

3. From this recommendation is excluded the Fatwa Alamgiri. Of this voluminous and popular work of Law only about one-sixth remains to be finished. The Committee, therefore, has authorised its completion under my control in the expectation that by its sale some return of the expenditure incurred may be obtained. The Inayah and the Arabic version of Bridge's Algebra mentioned in the statement, as will be observed, are differently circumstanced. The Committee will probably have occasion to address Government separately as to these works.

4. As a measure of useful economy the Committee recommends the abolition of the Book Depository the necessity of which is superseded by the proposition to suspend the progress of the oriental works under impression, and the decision to abstain from printing others. The Committee will hereafter submit the plan which it proposes as to the disposal of the books in store.

5. The General Committee is of opinion that a considerable saving may be effected by providing for the performance of the duties executed by the late Secretaries to the Benares and Calcutta Sanskrit Colleges on a more moderate scale and suggests, therefore, that no appointment for those vacant offices be at present made.

6. It is in communication with the Managing Committees on the subject and will hereafter submit the arrangement which may be deemed most expedient.

7. The Government will observe that the General Committee proposes under its late orders, to the extent of its means, to institute schools for teaching English literature and science in the principal cities and towns. Enclosure B is an estimate (in part conjectural) of the means which the measures recommended will probably place at its disposal.

8. It is intended to commence with the populous cities of Patna and Dacca and I have opened a correspondence on the subject with the principal civil functionaries. The Committee hopes that a fund may be raised by the voluntary subscriptions of the wealthy inhabitants sufficient to erect or buy school houses and contemplates the appropriation of about 6,000 rupees per annum from the General fund to each of these schools.

9. The General Committee is of opinion that the publication of the resolutions of the Government above quoted would have a beneficial effect in exciting in the

The Committee's proposals, 20th April 1835— concld.

minds of the influential classes of the community an interest in its proceedings and begs permission to publish those resolutions for general information.

(Sd.) J. C. C. SUTHERLAND,
Secretary, G. C. P. I.

FORT WILLIAM:

The 20th April, 1835.

(36) *Propositions adopted by the General Committee of Public Instruction on the 11th April 1835.*

Committee's propositions.

1. That the Government be requested to permit to publish the orders lately received.

2. That the Government be requested to permit the Committee to complete the printing of the Fatawa Alamgiri.

3. That the Government be requested to permit the Committee to make over the other unfinished works which are in hand to any society or person who may be willing and competent to complete them.

4. That the Government be requested to postpone the appointment of Secretaries to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta and Benares till the Committee shall be able to ascertain whether the services of such officers be indispensably necessary or whether they may not be procured at a small expense.

5. That measures be immediately taken for breaking up the depository.

6. That the Secretary be instructed to prepare an estimate of the funds which will immediately be at our disposal for the purposes of English education.

7. That schools for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of the English language be established in the principal towns under the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra as funds for that purpose become available and as school masters can be procured.

8. That Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Trevelyan, Captain Birch and Mr. Grant be appointed a Sub-Committee for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting what persons duly qualified are willing to be employed as teachers of English and on what terms.*

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

(True copy.)

(Sd.) J. C. C. SUTHERLAND, *Secretary.*

March 25, 1835.

* On the 3rd June 1834 Government approved of propositions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7; and pointed out that propositions 6 and 8 related to matters with which the Committee itself was competent to deal. [Ed.]

CHAPTER VIII.

LORD AUCKLAND'S MINUTE.

Thus a compromise appeared to have been reached. But the matter was not to rest here. There was no doubt a great body of feeling against the new learning and fears were expressed regarding failure to maintain the old. As to the English language, the necessity of insisting upon it as a qualification for service had not been officially recognised. The committee on examinations which met in Calcutta in 1826 to give effect to the proposal of Government that literary attainments should be made " the condition of appointment to the law stations in the courts and of permission to practice as law officers in those courts," had prescribed, both in the law and in the language in which it is written, " Sanskrit or Arabic, as the case may be." In 1828 Sir John Malcolm Governor of Bombay, recorded an interesting minute, in which he declared against the teaching of English as an unnecessary burden, though translations of English works were requisite. An extract is reprinted as document No. 37.

Lord Auckland succeeded Lord Bentinck as Governor-General. Petitions were received from students of the Sanskrit College and the Madrassa, complaining that they were deprived of their stipends. One of these and Lord Auckland's reply are printed as documents Nos. 38 and 39.

In a comprehensive minute, dated the 24th November 1839, Lord Auckland reviewed the situation, guaranteed the maintenance of the oriental institutions, declared for English instruction in zilla schools and the foundation of central colleges and advocated translations into the vernaculars for vernacular classes in the zilla schools. In the same minute he supported Adam's proposals for the extension of mass education, but submitted his larger projects to the Court of Directors and desired to learn the experience of Bombay. This minute and Mr.

Colvin's note thereon (documents 40 and 41), form a fitting close to this volume. They gather up the threads of the past years and conclude the early history of education in British India.

(37) *Extract from Minute of 1828 by Sir J. Malcolm, Governor of Bombay.**

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Minute by Sir J. Malcolm.

I have on political grounds a consolation, derived from my conviction of the impossibility of our ever disseminating that half-knowledge of our language, which is all any considerable number of the natives could attain. It would decrease that positive necessity which now exists for the servants of Government making themselves masters of the languages of the countries in which they are employed, and without which they never can become in any respect competent to their public duties.

One of the chief objects I expect from diffusing education among the natives of India, is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement, and of security. I cannot look for reduction of expense in the different branches of our Government from any diminution of the salaries now enjoyed by European public servants, but I do look to it from many of the duties they now have to perform being executed by natives on diminished salaries. I further look to the employment of the latter in such duties of trust and responsibility, as the only mode in which we can promote their improvement; and I must deem the instruction we are giving them dangerous, instead of useful, unless the road is opened wide on those who receive it, to every prospect of honest ambition and honourable distinction.

To render men who are employed beyond the immediate limits of the Presidency fit for such duties as I contemplate, no knowledge of the English language is necessary. The acquisition of that would occupy a period required for other studies, and pursuits, but it is quite essential to aspiring natives that they should have the advantage of translation from our language of the works which are best calculated to improve their minds, and increase their knowledge not only of general science, but to enable them to understand the grounds which led us to introduce into the system of the administration we have adopted for India the more liberal views

* *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 26 [385/525].

and sounder maxims of our policy and legislation in England. It is to the labours of the Elphinstone professors that we must look for that instruction which is to form the native instruments that must become the medium of diffusing such knowledge; and as no duty can be more important than that of men who are placed at the very head of this course of instruction, and as the power of selecting those qualified for the important task will much depend upon the liberality of the salaries assigned them, I trust with Mr. Warden, that the Hon'ble Court will make a grant, to promote this institution, of a sum at least equal to that subscribed by the natives of this presidency.

Minute by Sir J. Malcolm —concld.

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JOHN MALCOLM.

(38) *The humble petition of the Students of the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta, to the Right Hon'ble Lord George Auckland, Governor-General, dated 9th August 1836.*

SHEWETH,

THAT impressed with the importance of cultivating the Sanscrit language owing to its being a vehicle to the sacred writings of the Hindoos and containing all works which represent their manners and customs, the ancient kings of Hindoostan endowed grants of lands to those Brahmins and Pundits who devoted themselves to its acquisition, in order that they may cultivate it without interruption, and impart it to the children of other Brahmins and Pundits, who came to them for instruction from different parts of the country. Students when found competent and deserving, received grants of lands as rewards of their merit. Since the accession of Mohamedan power, though the progress of Sanscrit language was a little retarded; yet the Mohamedan kings notwithstanding their tyrannical measures encouraged its cultivation not only by allowing the undisturbed possession of the former grants of the Hindoos; but also presenting new ones to those who most deserved them.

Petition to Lord Auckland, 9th August 1836.

Altogether the English, having got possession of this country, neglected for a long time the cultivation of the Oriental languages and particularly the Sanscrit. Grieved at this indifference, many Maulvees assisted by those Englishmen who appreciated the value of Sanscrit presented a petition to the Court of Directors praying for the establishment of an institution for the purpose of preserving and propagating this Sanscrit language of the Hindoos.

Lord Amherst, who was then Governor-General established the present college in obedience to the orders of the Court of Directors, and greatly benefited the

Petition, 9-8-1836—contd.

natives of this country by employing good and able Pundits, and allowing small stipends to the students who resorted to it, from the different parts of the country, and prosecuted their studies with industry and success.

But to your petitioners' great misfortune and mortification, Lord William Bentinck in 1835 passed an order depriving the newly admitted students of the Sanscrit College of their stipends. This measure your petitioners feel to be a great detriment to the progress and interest of the Sanscrit College,—it is in fact indirectly abolishing the said institution and eradicating that sacred language from the East; for your petitioners, having none to support them in the city, cannot attend it nor acquire that proficiency which can reform their manners and customs. They therefore, pray that your Lordship will graciously enquire of men, who have studied, the Sanscrit language, its value and importance.

Your petitioners believing your Lordship to be a great patron to the civilization and reformation of the Hindoos, pray that your Excellency will mercifully confer on them the little allowance they enjoyed, for that will enable them to prosecute their studies without any inconvenience and preserve the Hindoo shastras from sinking into oblivion. The expense the Government will incur for this purpose is at the utmost 600 rupees a month, a sum quite insufficient and trifling for the object for which it is to be defrayed. Further your petitioners believing that your Lordship will not forget the duties of a ruler who is the protector not only of persons and property, but also a promoter of a knowledge and reformation, Your Lordship conferring this boon on Your Lordship's petitioners does not make only them happy but the Hindoo community in general, for the preservation of the sacred language.

If your Lordship be of opinion that the Government should not impart knowledge by means of allowing stipends to the students, your Lordship's petitioners beg to remind your Excellency that in such a cause, the Government would be guilty of partiality for allowing the students of the medical college that stipend, upon which all your petitioners' hopes of improvement depended. However, your petitioners, now thrown into greatest despair, pray that Your Excellency as a patron of learning, and protector of the helpless will adopt such means as would enable your petitioners to acquire that proficiency in the Sanscrit language which will not only enlighten them, but reform their degenerated manners and customs.

And your petitioners as in duty bound
shall ever pray.

Signed by 70 Students.

GOVERNMENT SANSKRIT COLLEGE,
CALCUTTA:
The 9th August, 1836.

(38) *Minute, dated 24th August 1836, by Lord Auckland, on the petitions for the restoration of stipends to the Muhammadan and Sanskrit Colleges.*

Minute by Lord Auckland, Aug. 24th 1836.

In declaring that I cheerfully acquiesce in the suggestion of two of the Members of Council that the reconsideration of the objects of these petitions should be deferred until the expected instructions shall be received from the Court of Directors, I would write, to save myself from misapprehension, to state that in my opinion a very wide distinction is to be drawn between a system of stipends and of scholarships. By the stipendary system I understand an undiscriminating payment of allowances to students to induce them to attend a place of instruction, and I think that it will be found to have been generally unsuccessful in all countries. On the other hand I hope that scholarships, limited in number, given for a limited time, to the best students, upon fair and severe competition, may be considered as amongst the best stimulants to emulation and learning; and though it may fairly be doubted whether for the purposes of general education, the funds at the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction may at present be most advantageously applied to their establishment, yet to satisfy, as far as reasonably we may, the minds of numerous and respectable classes of the Community, I should not be sorry to see either sanction on institutions to this effect conveyed to us from the Court of Directors, and in saying thus much, I am willing to hope that in this as in many other cases opinions apparently opposed to each other have in truth but little of essential difference.

(Sd.) AUCKLAND.

August 24, 1836.

(40) *Minute by the Right Hon'ble Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, dated 24th November 1839.**

NATIVE EDUCATION.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 24th Nov. 1839.

I have not hitherto, since I assumed charge of the Government, recorded my sentiments at any length on the important questions which regard the best means of promoting education amongst the natives of India. The subject is one of the highest interest, and especially calls for calm consideration and for combined effort. But unhappily I have found violent differences existing upon it, and it was for a time (now I trust past, or fast passing away) a watchward for violent dissension

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* Printed in THE REVD. DR. DUFF'S *Letters addressed to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education, etc.*, 1841.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

and in some measure of personal feelings. I judged it best, under these circumstances, to abstain from what might have led me into unprofitable controversy, and to allow time and experience to act, with their usual healing and enlightening influence, upon general opinion. I may earnestly hope that we are now not very far remote from arriving at some satisfactory result in respect to our educational controversies, and I will approach the topic, with the hope of contributing in some degree to this end.

2. Annexed to this paper will be found a note* compiled by Mr. Colvin, containing a condensed view of the principal facts, and of occasional notices of some considerations suggested by them, which relate to the general progress and present condition of the plans of native instruction as pursued in different parts of India, and of the tenor of the most important directions on the subject of public instruction which have been received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and with reference to those facts, as they apply particularly to the progress effected in the different Presidencies, and to the circumstances which have come under my observation, when at the seat of several of our institutions in Bengal, I will endeavour to state with all fairness the conclusions to which I have brought my mind on this subject.

3. I have first however to state my opinions on two specific references connected with the questions which are before me from the President in Council—the one relating to the appropriation of Funds heretofore assigned to particular Institutions, and the other to Mr. Adam's scheme for the improvement of the Indigenous Schools in the Bengal and Behar districts.

		Rs.
Parliamentary grant		8,888
Interest on Government notes		3,030
Madrissa		2,666
Sanscrit College		2,055
Delhi-Escheat Fund		250
Benares College		1,701
Agra College—	Rs.	
Endowment of villages	1,175	
Interest of Government notes	622	
		1,797
Per mensem		20,387

4. Before entering on the details of the first of these subjects, I may observe that it may in my opinion be clearly admitted, and I am glad from the papers before me to see that this opinion is supported by the authority of Mr. Prinsep, that the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the state for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English Education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all. In the Bengal Presidency, with its immense territory and a revenue of above 13 millions, the yearly expendi-

* Document No. 41. Page 170.

ture of the Government on this account is little in excess of £24,000 or 2,40,000 rupees, and I need not say how in a country like India, it is to the Government that the population must mainly look for facilities in the acquisition of improved learning. There is, I well know, the strongest desire on the part of the authorities both in England and India to support every well-arranged plan for the extension of education, and the despatches of the Hon'ble Court are full of the evidence of their anxiety on the subject. I may cite in particular the declaration of a despatch of the 18th February 1824.* "In the meantime we wish you to be fully apprized of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us." Such we may be assured is the feeling by which the Court is up to this time guided, and the difficulty has been not in any unwillingness to grant the money necessary to give effect to good plans, but in framing such plans, on principles admitted to be satisfactory, and in finding fit agents for the execution of them. I have alluded to the limited amount and to the existing appropriation of our present funds, not certainly with the slightest idea of casting reproach upon the previous course of administration, but merely as a fact which is of importance in its bearing upon former discussions. The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings. The Hon'ble Court have already, as was to be expected, acted on this principle. They have made a separate grant for the publication of works of interest in the ancient literature of the country to be disbursed through the appropriate channel of the Asiatic Society, and this measure is one which has been hailed with universal satisfaction.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

5. On the merits of the first of the two questions immediately referred to me, which I would consider in the spirit which I have here commended, I would at once say, on the position that the Government has given a pledge that the funds heretofore assigned to particular Institutions shall continue to be so for ever appropriated,

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* Document No. 24, §. 83. Page 92.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

that I cannot hesitate to express my conviction that the acts or intentions of the Government will not justly bear this very exclusive and restrictive construction. I remember the discussion of April 1836 and certainly I did not understand that the Resolution to which the Government then came was intended to have the force of a particular guarantee of the expenditure, *wholly within each institution* (whatever might be the nature of the instruction to which they might be devoted), of the funds which might have been assigned to it. The plain meaning of the proceedings and the professions of the Government seems to me to have been that, stipends having been everywhere discontinued, it would do nothing towards the abolition of the ancient seminaries of Oriental learning, so long as the community might desire to take advantage of them, their preservation as *Oriental seminaries* being alone at that time within the contemplation of either party. Had it been intended to promise that, whether Arabic, Sanscrit, or English were taught, the particular Institutions should at all events be retained, the meaning would surely have been expressed in much more distinct terms. My impression of the state of the case is briefly this—that the General Committee viewing the maintenance of the Oriental Colleges, on the footing to which I have referred, as prescribed and secured, proposed to consolidate all separate grants into one general fund, the savings of which, after the Oriental Colleges should have been thus provided for, should be held by them to be clearly applicable to their general purposes. The answer of the Government on 13th April 1836, after a discussion in which I in the first instance expressed a willingness to assent to the propositions of the Committee, was in these guarded terms—"*Under existing circumstances*, the Government in India thinks *it will not be advisable* to make the consolidation into one fund of all grants, made heretofore by Government, for purposes of education, as suggested by the Sub-Committee of Finance, nor does his Lordship in Council imagine that the Committee *will be put to much inconvenience* by drawing its funds separately as heretofore and crediting them whether derived from a Government monthly grant or from the interest of stock previously accumulated, to the particular seminaries to which they have been assigned* leaving any excess available in any institution to be appropriated *as may appear most equitable* with reference to the orders of Government, 7th March 1835,† and the pledges and assurances *that may have been given* to particular institutions." The alteration of the word "belong" to "have been assigned" as marked above, will shew the spirit of compromise amongst varying opinions in which the draft was agreed to. There was here no statement that the consolidation was a thing wholly out of the question. The diversion of funds from particular Institutions was admitted as a measure which might or might not

* First 'belong' was written, and afterwards this was changed to 'have been assigned.'
† Document No. 32. Page 130.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

be proper, and (the circumstances of all institutions not being before the Government) there is a reservation for the pledges and assurances "*that may have been given*" to some of them. Under such a reservation, if a specific promise in perpetuity of a particular sum to a particular institution could be shewn, such a promise would have of course to be respected, but otherwise by these orders of April 1836, things were left exactly as they stood before. Whilst, however, I am bound to declare that such is my distinct impression on the subject, and whilst for one I would reject the strict principle of absolute and irreclaimable appropriation, I am yet strongly of opinion that it will be best on every account to dispose of the question on the principle of a liberal consideration to all wants and claims. I see no advantage to be gained in this case by a close contest for strict constructions, and having taken a review of money estimates and of local wants, I am satisfied that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects, while I see at the same time nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with, that seminary. I would also give a decided preference, within these institutions, to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction, and only after that object shall have been properly secured in proportion to the demand for it, would I assign the funds to the creation or support of English classes. At the same time, I would supply to the General Committee of Public Instruction from the revenues of the State any deficiency that this Resolution might cause in the general income at their disposal—and if they should already have partially used for other objects, the savings arising from the seminaries supported by special funds, I would, in recalling such savings, protect the general committee from loss on that account. The statement in the margin will shew the contribution from the Revenue which this final settlement of the subject will occasion. It will be perceived that, calculating from the amount of stipends as they existed untouched in the end of 1834, and deducting one-fourth as required at all events for the Oriental colleges under a scheme of scholarships such as I shall hereafter state that I would approve, the additional annual disbursement from the Treasury will be about 25,000 rupees and perhaps there may be 6,000 rupees more per annum, on account of the office, which has been abolished, of Secretary to the Sanscrit college at Benares. I am well persuaded that the Hon'ble Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense. I would, upon this understanding, willingly

	Amount of stipends Dec. 1834	Per Annum
Calcutta Sanscrit College .	696	8,352
Madrissa . .	654	7,848
Benares College .	348	4,176
Agra College .	480	5,660
Delhi College .	627	7,524
TOTAL		. 33,560
Deduct one-fourth		. 8,390
TOTAL		. 25,170

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

join in the direction sent to the general committee in the letter of Mr. Prinsep on the 31st of July last, "to avoid making any alienation" (from the assigned funds of the Oriental Institutions) "without previously soliciting the sanction of Government." They should, as I have said, be desired to appropriate the funds within the Oriental Colleges, first to Oriental and then to English instruction. I would not, on any account, admit the extension of the system of scholarships within these colleges beyond the general proportion (which should be on a liberal scale) allowed elsewhere, for this would be an excessive and artificial encouragement which might be justly objected to. But I would secure the most eminent Professors for the Colleges. I would encourage the preparation, within the limits of the funds, of the most useful books of instruction, such as of the Siddhants and Sanscrit version of Euclid which Mr. Wilkinson has urged upon us, and I would provide, in some form, which the general committee should be required to take into early consideration, for an improved and effective superintendence of the Oriental colleges of the North-Western Provinces, where I know that such a supervision is very obviously required. Funds that might still remain available could be doubtless to much advantage devoted to European instruction in union with those particular Institutions, and I should look with very warm interest to an efficient scheme for imparting English Education to Mahomedans at the Madrissa in Calcutta.

6. The other reference made to me is with regard to Mr. Adam's plan for the improvement of indigenous Schools and Teachers. I would observe upon it that it is impossible to read his valuable and intelligent report, without being painfully impressed with the low state of instruction as it exists amongst the immense masses of the Indian population. Attempts to correct so lamentable an evil may well be eagerly embraced by benevolent minds. Yet I cannot but feel with the President in Council that the period has not yet arrived when the Government can join in these attempts with reasonable hope of practical good. When Mr. Adam enforces his views "for the instruction of the poor and ignorant, those who are too ignorant to understand the evils of ignorance and too poor, even if they did, to be able to remove them,"—the inference irresistibly presents itself that among these is not the field in which our efforts can at present be most successfully employed. The small stock of knowledge which can now be given in elementary schools will of itself do little for the advancement of a people. The first step must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes, for it seems, as may be gathered from the best authorities on the subject, that a scheme of general instruction can only be perfect, as it comprehends a regularly progressive provision for higher tuition. In the European States where such systems have been recently extensively matured, this principle is, I believe, universally observed. There is a complete series of Universities in great Towns, of Academies in Provincial

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

divisions and of small local Schools, all connected in a combined plan of instruction. The extension of the plan to the Parish or Village School has been the last stage, as must naturally have been the case, in the national progress. Mr. Adam's plan contemplated such a rise of able pupils from the village to the zillah schools, but the suggestion could not immediately have effect. Here we are yet engaged on the formation and efficient direction of our upper institutions. When, indeed, the series of vernacular class of books for our single *Zillah* Schools, which is still a desideratum, and to which I shall subsequently refer, shall have been published, and their utility shall have been established by practice, Mr. Adam's recommendations may be taken up with some fairer prospect of advantage. For the present I would confine our measures in reference to his reports to injunctions on the General Committee that they bear in mind his particular suggestions and objects in determining on the series of class books referred to. I would submit the plan to the Hon'ble Court for the expression of their sentiments and wishes, and in the collection of information for an eventual decision I would make use of the experience which the Bombay measures of village instruction, alluded to in the note annexed,* will have afforded. For this purpose I would communicate Mr. Adam's report to the Government of Bombay, and ask how far the scheme which he describes is in accordance with that which is pursued in the provinces of that presidency, and what opinion may be formed from the result already obtained by their village schools, of the propriety of carrying out Mr. Adam's plans in their important parts. The encouragement *to existing school masters*, which is the leading suggestion in Mr. Adam's plan, will probably have been largely tried at Bombay, and the extent to which those School Masters have reaped improvement under such encouragement will be a most interesting subject of enquiry. I learn also in the course of my enquiries regarding the previous progress of education in India, that a school society existed for some time in Calcutta, the operations of which were directed with partial success to the amendment of indigenous schools. Mr. Hare will probably be able to explain the history of this society, which drew a grant of 400 or 500 rupees a month from Government, and to give also the causes of its extinction. I would ask this gentleman to favour Government with a report regarding that society,—and I would conclude upon this subject by recording my opinion that when such a scheme as that proposed by Mr. Adam comes to be tried, the arrangements for introducing it should be on a liberal and effective scale, and that it ought not to be undertaken at all, until the Government is satisfied that it has at command a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence.

7. Having said thus much in answer to the references made to me by the President in Council, I would proceed to record my observations upon the topics which

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* *See* Document No. 41. Page 175.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 — contd.

seem to me most important in regard to our plans of education—I strongly feel that, in all that we can do, we must be prepared for much disappointment in our early efforts to satisfy the demands made upon us on this subject. By some it will be lamented that we do not at once perfect enlarged schemes for general education, by others it will be regretted that what we do for the best pupils of our few seminaries seems to produce so partial an effect. Feelings of this nature will attend us in whatever attempts we may engage for the improvement of any branch of our Indian Government. Our governing and instructed class belongs to a highly civilized community. It is in active and increasing intercourse with the European world, where, in our advanced state of society, skill and enterprise are daily gaining new triumphs. It is naturally impatient for the introduction in India of every plan which has, though probably after repeated trials and failures, been adopted with success in European countries—and the spirit of free discussion excites benevolent minds to bring forward the most extensive projects. On the other hand, we are dealing with a poor people, to the vast majority of whom the means of livelihood is a much more pressing object than facilities for any better description or wider range of study. Our hold over this people is very imperfect, and our power of offering motives to stimulate their zeal is but of confined extent. The agency which we can employ for reform is extremely narrow and liable to constant derangement. Of those who are willing to devote their energies to the business of giving or superintending instruction, Oriental Scholars are apt to be unduly prepossessed in favour of acquirements obtained by much labour and to which they are indebted for reputation; while mere European Scholars are liable to be ignorant of and neglect national feeling, are at all events incompetent to make a proper use of native means for the execution of their plans. Where even the mind of our able pupil has been very greatly informed and enlightened, the knowledge gained by him may seem to produce no adequately corresponding result in after life. The student may stand alone in the family or society of which he forms a part. These can very generally have few feelings in common with him, and he may be unhappy and discontented in his peculiar position, or he may yield to the influences by which he is surrounded and accommodate himself to the sentiments and practices which his reason has taught him to disapprove. Add to this, that if he finds that his knowledge opens to him the prospect of advancement, he will, under a restricted competition, be over-confident in his own powers and unreasonable in his expectations, while at the same time he will be tempted to relax in the exertions necessary to maintain, or carry forward, the standard of proficiency at which he had arrived. These are circumstances of the operation of which we must all I think in a greater or less degree have had practical experience. I can only say upon them that we must neither entertain sanguine or premature hopes of general success, nor yet allow ourselves to be seriously discouraged. We must be content to lay even

the first rude foundations of good systems, and trust for the rest to time, to the increasing demand of the public and of individuals for the services of educated men, to the extension which must every year take place of the Agency for instruction at the command of Government, and to the certain effects of the spread, however slow, of knowledge, and of the gradual growth of wealth and intelligence in the community.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

8. I would in now offering my opinions and suggestions on the present practical directions of our plans, desire to consider the question of our educational policy as one of interest to every portion of the Empire, without minute reference to merely local and temporary discussions. I am aware that we are yet in expectation of the orders of the home authorities* on the subject of the changes in the scheme of education in Bengal, which were adopted by the Government in 1835. But I would not, on this account, longer withhold the explanation of my own sentiments on the course which should be adopted, and I do not anticipate that in what I shall propose, I shall be found to have deviated in any material degree from the wishes of the Honorable Court.

9. I would first observe that I most cordially agree with the Court in their opinion, which is quoted in para. 45 of Mr. Colvin's note,† that, with a view to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people, the great primary object is the extension, among those who have leisure for advanced study, of the most complete education in our power. There cannot, I think, be a doubt of the justice of their statement that "by raising the standard of instruction among these classes, we would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than we can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class." It is not to be implied from this that in my view elementary education for the mass of the people is a thing necessarily to be neglected, or postponed for an indefinite period, but it will have been seen that the hope of acting immediately and powerfully on the mass of the poor peasantry of India is certainly far from being strong with me. And the practical question, therefore, to which I would before all others give my attention is to the mode in which we may endeavour to communicate *a higher* education with the greatest prospect of success.

10. One mode which has been ably contended for is that of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, of the Moulvees and Pundits of India. I confess that from such means I anticipate only very partial and imperfect results. I would, in the strictest good faith, and to the fullest extent, make

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* The expected reply does not appear to have been received until 1841. It is printed in the *Report of the General Committee, Bengal, 1839-40*, p. cli *f*.

† Document No. 41. Page 179.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

good the promise of upholding, while the people resort to them, our established Institutions of Oriental learnings. I would make those Institutions equal sharers with others in any general advantages or encouragements which we are satisfied ought to be afforded with a view to the promotion of due efficiency in study. I would, from the funds which have been before allowed to them, assist in them, as I have already said, any judicious plans for ameliorating the course of study, as by aiding the publication of works which may seem likely to be decidedly useful to the students. Nor am I at all disposed to undervalue the amount of sound education and morality which is to be acquired at these Seminaries even without calling in the resources of European Science and Literature. I will not profess deep respect for the mere laborious study of a difficult language, or of the refinements and subtleties of scholastic learning. But sensible, as assuredly I am, of the radical errors and deficiencies of the oriental system, I am yet aware that the effect of all advanced education, and I will add especially of a Mahomedan education, is in cherishing habits of reflection, of diligence, and of honourable emulation, that it tends also to elevate the tone of moral character, though its practical effect is unfortunately too frequently marred by the domestic and social habits of Oriental life. Judging, however, from the common principles of human nature, and from such experience as is referred to* in the case of Mr. Wilkinson of Bhopal, it is not to the students of our Oriental Colleges, trained, as it will be admitted that they are in a faulty system to which they are yet naturally and ardently attached, that I would look for my chief instruments in the propagation of a new knowledge and more enlarged ideas. It was not through the professors of our ancient schools, but by the efforts of original thought and independent minds, that the course of philosophical and scientific investigation and of scholastic discipline was for the most part reformed in Europe. The process of translation, it is to be added, into the learned languages must unavoidably be so slow that, on that account alone, the arguments in favour of a more direct method of proceeding appear to me conclusively convincing.

11. Another class of recommendations is that all the leading facts and principles of our literature and science be transferred by translations into the vernacular tongues. Mr. Hodgson in his book on Education, says,† "As a practical measure for the immediate adoption of Government, I have no hesitation in saying that to found a college for the rearing of a competent body of translators and of schoolmasters—in other words, for the systematic supply of good vernacular books and good vernacular teachers (leaving the public to *employ* both, in case the Government fund be adequate to no more than the maintenance of such college) would be

* See paras. 23 and 24 of Note [A.]. Page 175.

† *Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects, London*, 1880, Vol. ii, p. 314. (The essay quoted was written in 1837.)

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

an infinitely better disposal of the Parliamentary grant than the present application of it to the training of a promiscuous crowd of English smatterers, whose average period of schooling cannot, by *possibility*, fit them to be the regenerators of their country, yet for whose further and efficient prosecution of studies, so difficult and so alien to ordinary uses, there is no provision nor inducement whatever."

12. But those who support this course overlook in the first place the extreme practical difficulty of preparing any very extensive course of translated or adapted works. We are speaking now *of the means of an advanced and thorough education*, and not of a limited series of works for the purposes of common instruction, to the compilation of which, as I shall have immediate occasion to remark, I am entirely favourable. The difficulties of translation have been illustrated by our knowledge of what has been effected at Bombay, where the object has been prosecuted with much zeal, and I have annexed to this minute, a list* of the works which have been prepared in Arabic by the European officers attached to the service of the Pasha of Egypt, and it will be seen how very confined the number is, excepting in works of Military, Medical, or other Science. The clear truth seems to be that works of science may, at least to some considerable extent (their range being necessarily contracted), be rendered into other languages within a comparatively moderate period, but the translation, within any time the extent of which we could reasonably calculate, of anything like a sufficient library of works of general literature, history and philosophy is an impossible task. I have only, therefore, to conclude on this point by stating my entire concurrence in the opinion which has been quoted in the note from a despatch of the Hon'ble Court to the effect " that the higher tone and better spirit of European Literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages."

13. I would then make it my principal aim to communicate through the means of the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands, and for whose instructions our funds will admit of our providing. All our experience proves that, by such a method, a real and powerful stimulus is given to the Native mind. We have seen that, in Bombay, as at Calcutta, from the time at which effective arrangements have been made for the higher branches of instruction in English, the understandings of the students have been thoroughly interested and roused, and that the consequences have wonderfully, to use the words of the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction in 1831, " surpassed expectation." The difficulty which attends this course is the very important one, not of principle, but of practice, namely, that the wants and circumstances of our Indian population bring to our Colleges so few who desire, or are able to receive from us the complete

* Not printed here ; but see p. xxxix f. of the *Report of the General Committee 1839-40.*

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

English education, which it is our object to impart to them. Those who look with greater confidence to other methods of diffusing knowledge in this country, dwell especially upon this difficulty. Mr. Hodgson argues that we have no reasonable ground to hope here for the same wide study of English Literature, and subsequent use of the information acquired in it for the purposes of vernacular composition, as occurred in the different stages of European civilization with reference to the Greek and Roman models from which that civilization was chiefly derived. His words are, * "True, the difficult and inapt science of Greece and Rome *was* in modern Europe, first mastered in itself, and eventually worked into our own speech and minds. But how? by the employment of means adequate to the end,—by the existence of circumstances most powerfully efficient to forward that end. A thousand predisposing causes led a mighty nobility to seek in this lore the appropriate ornament of their rank and station. A church which monopolised a third of the wealth of the continent, called Rome its mother and Greece its foster mother: and throughout the great part of that continent, the law, ecclesiastical and civil, was even lingually Roman. *Hence* the magnificent endowments and establishments and permanent inducements of all kinds by which a difficult and exotic learning was at length effectually naturalized amongst us. *Hence* the scholar, if he pleased, might pursue in retirement letters as a profession, assured of a comfortable provision *for life*; or, if he pleased, he might devote himself to the task of instructing the scions of a most influential and wealthy nobility, all of them, from peculiar association, necessitated to become his pupils, whether they profited by his lessons or not, and thereby affording *him* the certainty of an enduring means of livelihood; or if he pleased, he might pass from the cloister or the college into the world, and there find the greater part of its most important concerns subservient to the uses and abuses of his peculiar gifts."

14. Mr. Wilkinson has also on different occasions remarked that it seems to him that Education in English should be confined for the present to the Presidencies and to some of the principal provincial stations, as being the only places at which there is yet an actual demand for it.

15. Mr. Adam says† of the condition of our English scholars, "Extraordinary efforts have been made to extend a knowledge of the English language to the Natives, but those who have more or less profited by the opportunities presented to them do not find much scope for their attainments which on the other hand little fit them for the ordinary pursuits of native society. They have not received a good Native education, and the English education they have received finds little, if any, use. There is thus a want of sympathy between them and their countrymen,

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* *Miscellaneous Essays*, pp. 315-316.

† ADAM'S *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar*. Edited by J. LONG, p. 304.

although they constitute a class from which their countrymen might derive much benefit. There is also little sympathy between them and the foreign rulers of the country because they feel that they have been raised out of one class of society without having a recognized place in any other class." *Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839* —contd.

16. But I believe that in all these opinions, the practical value of superior English acquirements is very greatly under-rated. A familiarity with the general principles of legislation and government, and the power of offering information or opinion upon public affairs in English reports (which is the form in which the higher correspondence regarding the British administration in India, will, of course, always be conducted), must be qualifications so directly useful, as (not to speak of the recommendations of an improved moral character), to ensure to the possessors of them a preference for the most lucrative public employments, after they shall have acquired that knowledge of life and of business, and that good opinion among those who have had opportunities of witnessing their conduct, which mere book-learning never can bestow. There are as yet, no doubt, circumstances of temporary operation, which will keep for a period our best English scholars from reaping from their studies all the worldly profit which will ultimately accrue to them. Our course of instruction has not hitherto been so matured as to include any efficient and general arrangement for giving that knowledge* of morals, jurisprudence, law and fiscal economy which the Hon'ble Court have so wisely and earnestly insisted on, and which will be most directly useful in the discharge of administrative duties. There are other obstacles also which for a time may impede our young scholars in their desire to obtain public office. They may overestimate their own pretensions, and decline to accept the subordinate situations which alone it may at first be thought right to entrust to them. The cure for such exaggerated expectations will come with time. When this class of candidates becomes more numerous, there will be a less hesitation with many of them in taking lower appointments. In the meanwhile, it is known that I am not disposed to adopt any special means, which could be felt as doing injustice to the rest of the community, for connecting our educated English students with the public service. The subject has been fully discussed in my Minute in the Judicial* Department of September 4th, 1838, the completion of the measures consequent on which I am anxiously awaiting. The scheme proposed by the Hon'ble the President in Council, to which, in that respect, I assented in the Minute referred to, included, however, the appointment of a limited number of Native assistants to some of the best of our Zillah Judges, who would be instructed in the forms and practice of office. And so far there would be an immediate opening for the employment of several of our students. The general character of my recommendations in that Minute was, however, to establish a

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* *See* para. 5 of the Note [A.].

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

test of qualification before selection for the honourable and responsible situation of a Moonsiff, for *all* candidates, wheresoever and in whatever language instructed and to procure the compilation and printing of Manuals of legal instruction, in the Native tongues as well as in English which might be taught everywhere by private Masters or in public Institutions. To the principle of this plan I would steadily adhere. But in our Colleges I would carry instruction of this kind further than would be the aims of these Manuals, which would be more proper for use in our common schools. Having thus supplied suitable aids for the acquisition of the knowledge most requisite in public life, I would look with assured confidence to the recognition by the community of the advantages of an advanced English education, comprising those branches of study, a conservancy with which would place an instructed Native Gentleman on a level with our best European Officers. It is true, and no one has more heartily concurred and rejoiced in the determination than myself, that the vernacular tongues, and not English, will be the future languages of the courts and the offices in the interior of the country. But this circumstance will in no degree detract from the force of those inducements to English study, of which, as regards the vast and most important correspondence which must ever be conducted in English, I have just spoken. Nor need I dwell on the degree to which such inducements will be increased to the mere fact of English being the language of the ruling and governing class in India. This is an encouragement to the pursuit of English that will probably greatly counterbalance the want, which has been justly noticed by Mr. Hodgson, of those motives to its cultivation which would have existed in such strength had English been here, as the Classical languages were in the West, the established language of Theology and of law.

17. It will be observed that I have referred chiefly to inducements connected with employment in the public service as likely to lead Indian students to ask admission to our Colleges. This, we may be satisfied, is the principal motive which will as yet operate to bring them to any of our educational Institutions. Excepting perhaps partially in Calcutta (and possibly, though I am not informed on the point, at Bombay) the wealthy and higher classes of India do not send their sons to public Colleges and Schools. Those who come to us for instruction are in search of the means of livelihood either in places under the Government, or in situations under individuals, which in the peculiar constitution of the Indian Government and society, bring them, in a greater or less degree, in connection with the public administration. I mention this point as explanatory of the importance to be attached to the nature of the instruction communicated to our students. The remark applies with equal force to our institutions for the study of the Classical learning of the East. Putting aside the money stipends which were formerly allowed, the great object of the students in the Sanscrit and Arabic Colleges of the Government has been to rise to office as Law Pundits and Moulvees in the courts. The knowledge

which gains for men, reputation and profit among the Native community, as great religious teachers, or among the Hindoos as proficients in Astrology is not to be acquired at those colleges and will best be obtained elsewhere from private Native instructors. If there be not a demand for the same number of Law Pundits and Moulvees as previously, the attendance at the Colleges may be expected to decline, though in the Arabic in a much less degree than in the Sanscrit Colleges; for Mahomedan studies fit men far more than those of Hindoo learning for all the active offices of life.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

18. What has been said may suffice to prove that there are weighty and daily growing inducements to the pursuit of English education, if directed with a proper attention to the wants of Scholars and to practical results. It remains that means should be furnished, at least to the most promising of the Scholars, to continue their studies to the desired completion, as incontestible proof appears to have been given* that their poverty would otherwise generally compel them to retire from College as soon after their leaving boyhood as an opportunity of securing a provision for their subsistence might be open to them. On this point I will immediately remark separately—but I would here again say that I am of opinion, in full concurrence with the President in Council, that whatever amount of reward and support for meritorious students may be granted to those attached to our English, should be granted also in perfectly like proportion in our Oriental Institutions. The pledge to maintain these latter institutions while resorted to by the people involved to my mind the clear obligation to maintain them with all the conditions which are judged necessary for the general efficiency of our educational schemes.

19. Assuming upon the preceding reasoning that our aim as regards those seminaries of highest learning which are not, like the learned Eastern Colleges, especially assigned to other objects, should be to communicate European knowledge through the medium of the English language, it is next to be considered what should be the character of the minor academies or schools such as may probably be eventually established at every zillah station.

20. I have not stopped to state that correctness and elegance in vernacular composition ought to be sedulously attended to in the Superior Colleges. This is a matter of course in the scheme of instruction. But a question may well be raised whether in the Zillah Schools, the subject matter of instruction ought not to be conveyed principally through the vernacular rather than the English medium.

21. I would certainly be much in favour of that course if I saw any solid reason to believe that instruction of a common order would more readily and largely be accepted from the Government in the one mode than the other. I am quite of opinion that a very valuable amount of useful knowledge may be easily conveyed,

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* See details at the close of para. 8, and in paras. 10 and 15 of Note [A.].

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

when good class books and persons competent to teach from them are provided through the means of the vernacular languages. And while I am satisfied that some not trivial amount of moral and intellectual stimulus and improvement is obtained from the Minor English Schools at present existing yet the standard of proficiency in them is probably not so great as that the mass of Scholars in them would not be merely as much gainers from merely vernacular tuition.

22. It is an argument for the use of the vernacular medium in such schools, that after the first expense of preparing school books has been incurred instruction in that manner would, it may be expected, be more economical than through English, which requires the employment of an English master on a salary at least two or three times as high as would be adequate for a native teacher who had received an English education and was at the same time perfectly conversant with his own tongue. Employment as a Schoolmaster would also be a natural and proper provision for studious young men who had gone through a complete course at the English Colleges. Such a master would of course be able to instruct a class attached to a vernacular school in the first elements of English learning, so as to lay a foundation for those who wished further to prosecute that study.

23. It is a deduction from the saving which the substitution of Native for English Masters in the Zillah Schools might produce that English superintendence over several circles of such schools would probably for a long period be indispensable and a charge on that account must be estimated for. It is also to be reckoned that the cost of compiling and translating a proper series of a vernacular class books is likely to be considerably greater than might at first be supposed.

24. I would speak with much respect of the authority of Mr. Wilkinson on this subject. But I will avow that I am by no means convinced of the applicability of his system or suggestions to the objects of a common education. It is at least not certain that he will in the end carry the body of Hindoo Astronomers along with him in his correction of prevalent errors. In any event it is not the abstruse parts of the Mathematical Science which could be of use in our Zillah Schools. In fact Mr. Wilkinson's system is almost wholly dependent on his own eminent personal talents and exertions, his admirable zeal, his great knowledge, the weight of his excellent character, and perhaps also, it should not be concealed, the influence attaching to his position as the British Political Agent. It would not be safe to draw conclusion as to what may best be done by ordinary agents within the British Provinces from what have been accomplished in vernacular instruction by Mr. Wilkinson in Sehore. Some of his remarks too as to the failure of attempts at English education within foreign states are not good grounds for anticipating failure within our own Districts, where other circumstances and motives are in operation.

25. I do not admit into this discussion the question of promoting at the present time the formation of a body of vernacular literature. Instruction through the

vernacular languages to a definite extent for ordinary purposes may possibly be, as the readiest mode to the attainment of those purposes, proper and desirable. But anything like a body of enlarged literature can, I am thoroughly convinced, be created only with time, by the unprompted exertions of private authors, when a general demand for such literature shall have arisen among the people. The Honorable Court have in a passage, which has been quoted,* declared themselves strongly in favour of a liberal encouragement of Native private authors and translators and I would by no means dissent widely from their views, though the encouragement must be given with judgment or the Government will be constantly in hazard of aiding mediocrity or premature and ill-directed efforts. But these are considerations apart from the settlement of the plans of school instruction on which we are now engaged.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

26. I have thus stated what has seemed most important on the subject of introducing the vernacular medium in our common District Schools ; I mean, as to the general principle of such a change, for the measure could not be named as one for very early adoption, with no class books prepared or teachers versed in those books yet trained for their duties. And as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demanded attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible. We may, indeed, be said to have two great experiments in progress, one in the Bengal, the other in the Bombay Provinces, the Provincial education being in the former conducted chiefly through the English, in the latter almost, if not quite exclusively, through the vernacular languages. It will be most interesting that both experiments should be closely watched and thoroughly developed. It is possible that in Bengal, in aiming at too much, we may have withheld some facilities for acquiring knowledge which might otherwise have advantageously been left open. And in Bombay the standard of proficiency in the Mofussil Schools may have been fixed and allowed to remain too low, with no principle in the scheme by which they are regulated which would constantly animate exertion, and maintain a spirit of progressive improvement.

27. The immediate practical question in respect to Bengal seems to be that which I have before mentioned—namely, whether it may be reasonably supposed that a vernacular would be more readily and largely accepted in our District Schools than an English education, and on this subject I am not able, after much careful reflection, to discover any reasons which could lead me to answer the proposition in the affirmative. Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources. We can in those schools draw little, if any, aid from existing native literature. The desire for the new ideas and information which

* *See* para. 3 of the Note [A.].

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

will be imparted to them must therefore be among the great inducements to attendance, and those who are candidates for such instruction will not, I think, in any important degree be deterred by having to undergo also the labour of learning the English character and language. The fact indeed is, as it is to be presumed from the evidence which has been recorded* on the subject, that a knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life, is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For mere instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) *through the vernacular* medium, it may, it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools, who now resort to them.

28. On the other hand, I confess that I regard it as a serious defect in our plans that we have compiled no proper series of vernacular class books. It is obviously desirable that, as we have vernacular classes, the books used in them should not only be correct and elegant in style, but should be themselves of the most useful description. I would urge also the justness and importance of the advice† of the Honorable Court that such a series of class books should be prepared under one general scheme of control and superintendence. Much expense will thereby be saved and efficiency greatly promoted. The cost would equitably and willingly be divided among many parties. The works would either be selections from English books of instruction already published, or original compilations adapted for Native pupils. In either case the charge of the first selection or compilation in English would be borne in past by the Education funds of Bengal, and in part by those of the other Presidencies, especially by those of Bombay where such works must be urgently required for the vernacular Schools in the Interior. The new Patsala of Calcutta, the projectors of which have proposed a good series of works, would also of course contribute, and aid might be expected from benevolent individuals or associations in different parts of India. The present opportunity is favourable to entering on the undertaking. When the books shall have been prepared in English they will afterwards, as the Honorable Court have observed, be translated at each Presidency into the Vernacular languages current in it, but the first step for all the Presidencies must be the primary compilation. I would then place the body, which at present represents the Government in the direction of Native education, in communication with the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta and make it my first injunction to the latter Committee in concert with the managers of the Hindoo College, Patsala, or others, to draw a definite scheme of the several sets of books wanted for instruction through the vernacular languages in Seminaries of ordinary Education—then to consider and report by what means and at what estimated cost, to

* NOTE.—Paras. 10 to 15 supra [A.].

† See extract of dispatch cited in para. 36 of Note [A.].

be distributed among what parties, these books can be drawn up, and with what further cost the printing of them would be attended. With this information before them, the Government can determine on the completion of the plan and on the amount of funds which can properly, independent of the usual income of the Committee, be assigned to it.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

29. I need scarcely repeat that I look with particular favour on the suggestions of the managers of the Patsala for including in the list of works Treatises on the elements of Law, general and local, of Political Economy and of Morals.

30. When the series of class books shall have been printed, and especially when these further Manuals of the precedents, rules and practice of our Courts to which my Minute in the Judicial Department of September 4th, 1838,* referred, shall have been added to them and made a part of instruction, it is more probable than at present that students will attend the vernacular classes of our zillah schools for the sake of the general and practical knowledge to be acquired at them. In that stage of progress it would be my second direction to the Calcutta Education Committee to relax† their rule for the discontinuance of *separate* vernacular instruction, and to allow students to attend the full course of English or vernacular tuition as they might themselves prefer.

* Recorded in the Legislative Department.

31. The day however when all this can be accomplished, may yet be distant. It is easy to wish for and to project such compilations as will be requisite for the purpose, but the means in India for the efficient execution of them are unavoidably limited, and in this respect, as in other parts of our endeavours, we must expect delays and partial disappointments.

32. Meanwhile, we have to improve the Institutions which are established, and to make the most of them for the great end sought for. My leading recommendation on this point would be so to connect our zillah schools with the central Colleges as to give from the latter to the ablest students of the zillah schools a stimulus that will carry them beyond the ordinary range of instruction which is reached by the mass of the zillah pupils. Without such a stimulus we shall fall far short of the point which we must desire to gain in the promotion of national improvement.

33. This brings me to the question of pecuniary scholarships for meritorious students, for such a stimulus as I have spoken of is scarcely to be given excepting by attaching, in some form, scholarships of that description to the central Colleges to which the best of the zillah scholars may be eligible. On the general question regarding pecuniary support to promising students to enable them to perfect their studies, I think that I may content myself by referring to the facts and opinions which have

† See Note para. 6 [A.

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839
—contd.

been detailed on this point, and I will only therefore profess my decided adoption of the principle laid down by the Honorable Court in the words which I shall again quote from their Despatch of September 29th, 1830.* "*Provided*," they say, "*that the privilege of scholarships is restricted to young men who have afforded proof of a peculiar capacity and industry, it appears to us to be a highly useful and proper mode of encouraging and facilitating their acquisition of high attainments.*" My third present direction to the Calcutta Committee would now, therefore, be to consider and report with all expedition on the details of a scheme for assigning a certain number of Scholarships to all our higher Seminaries—those in the English and Oriental Colleges being in an equal ratio. In consequence of the very general poverty of the students I would fix the ratio on a higher scale say at one-fourth of the number of pupils, if that number "should afford proof of peculiar capacity and industry." I do not suggest Scholarships in our ordinary Schools, as the most deserving pupils of those will best be provided for in the Colleges, and the average efficiency of such schools can well be maintained by honorary prizes or single donations of money. Of the College Scholarships it may perhaps be the most convenient in the first instance that some should be assigned, in regular rotation, to be competed for by the pupils of each zillah School. The amount ought from the commencement to be enough for the decent subsistence of a Native Student, and there might be some small increase admitted after a year or two, as an incentive to continued effort. On the other hand, the Scholarship should be forfeited, if a proper standard of attainment were not exhibited at each yearly examination. I would not grant Scholarships for a year only, liable to be then lost, if, upon the chance of an examination another competitor might stand higher on the list, for the uncertain tenure of the emolument would be very unfavourable to hearty, consistent study. But I would provide, by such safeguard as I have mentioned, against the growth of indolence or indifference in the Student. Four years is an ordinary period for holding such Scholarships at home and it may be sufficient here. The following is the scheme of the Flaherty Scholarships in the University College, London, taken from the report of the Council of that Institution for 1838. "They (the Council) have determined to apply the income of this fund towards the formation of the scholarships to be called Flaherty Scholarships, which, at the same time that they stimulate and reward the exertions of the students, might commemorate the zeal and munificence of this body. This donation, increased by the investment of the surplus dividends until the Scholarships are in full operation, together with the sum of £250 supplied by the Council out of the funds of the College, will constitute a fund producing £200 *per annum* which will be sufficient to create four scholarships, each amounting to £50 annually for four years. One of these Scholarships will be vacant

* *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 11 [343/496], also in *Madras Selections, ii*, 1855, p. xl.

every year, and it is to be given in alternate years to the best proficient in Classical languages and in Mathematics and in natural Phillosophy. The first is intended to be given in the present year to the best proficient in Mathematics and natural Philosophy." *Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839* —contd.

34. I would state to the Education Committee that it is the wish of Government eventually to bring the Medical* College at Calcutta within our general scheme on this subject. But I would not press any immediate proposition to that effect. It will be enough to request now that the General Committee report specially in each of their successive yearly reports, whether they think that the time has arrived at which the assimilation could properly be introduced.

35. The Fourth point on which I would at present give instructions to the Education Committee, is as to the preference to be given to rendering the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing their funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary zillah Schools. I would have the places fixed, with reference to extent of population or convenience of locality, at which it should be the aim gradually to build up these efficient Central Colleges. I would, on a first conjecture, name for them Dacca, Patna, Benares, or Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and ultimately, though probably at a distant date, Bareilly. At these places, as well as at the Colleges of the Metropolis, the course of instruction should be carefully widened and perfected as opportunities offer. The Scholarships to be established at them will provide a class of students, prepared to avail themselves of the utmost advantages which they can afford, and real progress will thus be made, to the good effects of which we can look forward with reasonable hope. The Committee can act on this view only according to the actual state of circumstances from time to time. At Agra and Delhi, there is already a demand for higher instruction, which ought to be satisfied with the least delay possible. Elsewhere, perhaps, the condition of the Institutions may not call for, or admit of, immediate improvement. Where there is no strong occasion for the enlargement of the existing Schools into Colleges, the founding of other Schools may occasionally be the best and wisest appropriation of the educational income. But I would point it out to the Committee that the first of these objects, when practicable, is to have a declared priority of attention. I would especially invite the Committee to report how the studies connected with Jurisprudence, Government, and Morals, may be most readily introduced into our superior Colleges, and particularly whether very early arrangements cannot be made for the purpose in the Hindoo College at Calcutta. The revision of the system of scholarships in that college, so as to obviate the too general course of early withdrawal from instruction, which is now complained of, should have early consideration. Another object in these superior

* See paras. 20 and 21 of Note [A.].

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —contd.

Colleges ought to be to instruct the pupils, or some proportion of them, for the duties of the inferior school masters,—and to this end, they should be made thoroughly masters of the class books and legal or other manuals which are designed to be used in the lower schools, and with the branches of knowledge which relate to the subject comprised in them. Lastly, in order to make the greatest use of the advantages of the Colleges, I would attentively watch the degree to which the students profit by their access to the considerable Libraries which are now attached to many of our Institutions. Important deficiencies in those Libraries should be promptly supplied. A regular register should be kept of the books read by each student, the advancement made in general knowledge by the perusal of these books should be tested by examination, and rewards should be given to the most proficient, and the subject of the employment made of the Libraries should be one for special notice in the annual reports regarding each Institution.

36. If instructions founded upon these observations, should with the concurrence of the President in Council be communicated to the Calcutta General Committee, I would be glad that it should be added to them that, if the Committee should doubt the feasibility of attaching scholarships to Central Colleges on some such general scheme as has been suggested for the improvement of the pupils of the zillah Schools, they will then submit such other recommendations as they may think most likely to promote the object contemplated by that scheme,—the advancement of the best pupils of the body of our scholars beyond the present scale of common acquirement being regarded as a point of the first importance in our educational plans.

37. I have not more to observe on the immediate guidance of the measures of the Calcutta Committee. Before leaving the subject, however, I would say that the day may come when unity and efficiency of supervision will better be secured by having a single Superintendent of our Government Seminaries with an adequate establishment than by retaining the existing large Committee of Members, acting gratuitously in the intervals of other laborious duties, and so numerous as necessarily to cause a frequent inconvenience in the dispatch of business. At present I am satisfied that the varied knowledge possessed by the Members of the Committee renders their services most valuable to the Government and I would gratefully retain their aid. But I should be happy to receive from them a report of their suggestions on the means of procuring an occasional local inspection of the Institutions under their charge. The experience of Sir Edward Ryan, their President, will have convinced him that there may be great hazard of the interests of education being seriously retarded by the want of such inspection.

38. For the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, it may be convenient to place those Governments in possession of the substance of the review which has been taken of the facts relative to the progress of education in all parts of India, and

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839—contd.

to communicate to them also the Resolution which may finally be adopted by the Government, explanatory of its general views on the suggestions which I have offered, and of the orders that may be issued for the guidance of the Committee in Calcutta. These Governments should be especially invited to co-operate, through the bodies charged with the control of Public Instruction under their superintendence, in the common object of aiding the preparation of an useful and comprehensive set of class books, to be afterwards rendered into the vernacular tongues of the several Provinces. In this, as in other parts of the Government, it is a matter of high importance that there should be a thorough understanding among the different Presidencies of the principles observed and plans followed out in each, that the experience of one should be made known for the benefit of all, and that all should work together in the pursuit of the desired result. The Bombay Government I would particularly request to consider the measures which I have contemplated for raising, and adapting to Native wants the instruction conveyed in the most advanced of our English Colleges. I would ask also for a distinct and detailed report on the condition of its Mofussil vernacular Schools, the precise nature and range of the education given in them whether at Sudder Stations or in the interior towns and villages, the manner in which the teachers at either class of schools are selected and remunerated—whether (as has been before alluded to) by superintending and rewarding the teachers of the village schools who have not been trained in any of our own Seminaries, sensible good has been effected, whether, where there is no regular European Superintendence, these interior schools are kept in a state of real efficiency, whether inducements in the grant of Scholarships are, and if they are not, whether they may not well be, held out to the best scholars of the zillah schools to prosecute their studies further, and to acquire an improving knowledge of European literature, what are the general inducements which bring pupils to the schools, and whether good conduct in them ordinarily leads, as appear to have been approved by the Honorable Court, to employment in the public service. It may be explained that under this Government there has been care taken to withhold anything like a monopoly of the public service from the Scholars of its institutions, general tests open to all candidates, and selection by local Officers with regard to known character as well as proficiency in learning, being considered the proper grounds for nomination to Public Office. If the lads from the schools are drafted largely into official situations, opinions from the European Officers under whom they have served as to the degree of superior fitness exhibited by them would be of value. It is probable that Captain Candy, Superintendent of the Schools in the Deckan and of the Sanscrit College, could condense the materials for such a report

Note.—On this point attention may be drawn to the quotation in para. 4 of my Secretary's note on the backward state of four boys selected from the interior schools for the West scholarships. [A.]

Minute by Lord Auckland, 1839 —concld.

and submit it, with his own comments, without much delay. He will especially say whether the general standard of acquirement in the vernacular school is as forward as he could desire and whether he would recommend the establishment of English Schools, with a due arrangement of merit Scholarships, in a few of the interior districts. He will explain also what is his system in regard to the Sanscrit College at Poona, what improvements through the introduction of European knowledge have been attempted and with what success, and what is the extent and promise of the English Classes.

39. Of the Government of Madras I would ask for the information of the present state of Education under the direction or encouragement of the State, within those Territories, and as to what proceedings were taken consequent on the expressed desire of the Honorable Court for the foundation of an English College at Madras. The Madras Presidency is remarkable in India as being that in which knowledge of the mere English language is most diffused among all who are attached in public or private capacities to European Officers; but comparatively little appears on any reports before me, to have been done in order to make such a knowledge conducive to moral and intellectual advancement.

40. In concluding this paper, I have to express my regret if it should have extended to an inconvenient length. But the importance of the subject will be my excuse with my colleagues for my having treated it in this manner, with a view to the suggestion of such practical conclusions as may correct existing defects, diffuse more accurate information, and possibly have some effect in satisfying and reconciling opposite opinions.

(Sd.) AUCKLAND.

DELHI:

November 24th, 1839.

(41) *Extracts from a Note by J. R. Colvin, Private Secretary to the Governor General, referred to in Lord Auckland's minute of November 24th, 1839.**

BENGAL.

J. R. Colvin's note.

In Bengal the chief efforts of the Government and its Agents were for a long period directed to the communication of Instruction through the Medium of the Sanscrit and Arabic languages at Colleges established in different parts of the country. An exposé of their principles is contained in a report of the former Committee

* Printed in the *Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1839-40*, p. xliii f.

J. R. Colvin's note—contd.

of Public Instruction dated in December 1831. It was thought right to encourage the acquirement of the Native literature of Hindoos and Mahomedans, and to engraft improvements upon such studies, as a means of gaining over the influential and learned classes, the Pundits and Mowluvees who, it was hoped would act with the best effect on the rest of their Countrymen. English Classes were, however, from time to time, established in some of the Institutions and distinct English Seminaries at the seats of others. The English class of the Mudrusa at Calcutta has not succeeded but the failure is probably to be ascribed to accidental causes. Mr. Prinsep states in his note of July 5th, 1839, "I know that the desire to learn English and to master the rudiments of European Science is growing fast among the Mahomadans." A class of instruction in the Regulations of Government has been created in the Mudrusa with excellent promise. The translation of one or two European works of science into Arabic was commenced but, from whatever cause, the prospect of benefit from the attempts in this respect was not, on the whole, satisfactory. A most anxious and praiseworthy attention was given by the former Committee to the improvement of the English Institutions under their superintendence, as far as the funds, which they thought themselves warranted in assigning to them, admitted. The Hindoo College at Calcutta, which was founded by the personal desire and voluntary contribution of the Hindoo Gentlemen of Calcutta, particularly benefited by their care, and specially by the increasing attention of their able Secretary, Dr. H. H. Wilson, who was visitor of the College. Of the effects of English education at this college their report before alluded to says, "The consequence has surpassed expectation. A command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. Another generation will probably witness a very material alteration in the notions and feelings of the educated classes of the Hindoo Community of Calcutta." The Honorable Court had remarked on the same subject in their Despatch of September 29th, 1830.* "But the Vidyalya or Anglo-Indian College originally established by the Natives themselves for the study of the English language and for education through the medium of that language exclusively, has had more decided success than either of the Calcutta colleges. The number of scholars is now 436, of whom all except 100 pay for their tuition. The progress of these pupils is highly encouraging." The Hindoo College was distinguished, in the above point of the payments made by its pupils, from the other institutions under the Committee, where a system of general alimentary allowances for the support of students had been long in force. These allowances, were, I believe, only given after a previous strict examination as to qualifications acquired by applying for admission to the Government

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* *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 11 [340/494].

J. R. Colvin's note—contd.

Colleges, and they upheld therefore, to some extent the principle of forwarding only merit and industry. But these general money grants were, as will be seen from a subsequent extract from the Honorable Court's Despatch before cited, felt at an early period to be open to much objection, for it was always doubtful whether the chief inducement of every student was not rather to obtain a mere provision for his subsistence, than to acquire a knowledge which experience had shown to be calculated to be useful or acceptable to himself or his countrymen. The last point which needs to be noticed in respect to the former measures of the Committee of Public Instruction is that the Committee were averse generally to the employment of their limited funds in the support of mere elementary education. Their professed object was to give a higher education to advanced students. They did, however, in two instances, in a circle of schools in the neighbourhood of Chinsurah in the lower Provinces, and in the Ajmere Territory in Western India, admit exceptions to their usual rule, but in both these cases the result was a *discouraging failure.

* *See* as regards Chinsurah a notice of the subject on page 136 of Mr. Adam's Third Report. [J. R. C.].

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7. The latest published Report of the Committee for 1837, gives the following view of the number, state and cost of the institutions under their charge. It will be remembered that the third or distinct vernacular class, is that which has now been discontinued.

	Number of the pupils at the end of 1837.	Average monthly expenditure.
First Class, Oriental Classical.		Rs. A. P.
Calcutta Sanscrit College	122	1,358 0 0
Benares Sanscrit College	178	1,263 0 0
Calcutta Arabic College	125	1,950 0 0
Delhi Arabic and Persian College	91	800 0 0
Delhi Sanscrit Department	32	100 0 0
Agra Arabic and Persian Department	113	284 0 0
College of Mohd. Mohsin, Persian Department. .	274	1,500 0 0
Faruckabad Madrassa	...	...
Nizamut College	...	...
Allahabad Persian and Oordoo	48	40 0 0
TOTAL .	983	7,295 0 0

J. R. Colvin's note—contd.

	Number of the pupils at the end of 1837.	Average monthly expenditure.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Second Class, Anglo-Vernacular.				
Hindoo College†	451	4,059	0	0
Benares Seminary	147	527	0	0
College of Mohd. Mohsin, English Department	750	3,000	0	0
College, Hooghly Branch School	227	225	0	0
Madrissa English School	151	650	0	0
Agra College, English Department	151	1,288	0	0
Delhi Institution	84	709	0	0
Allahabad School	91	465	0	0
Dacca School	314	536	0	0
Meerut School	86	405	0	0
Gowhatty School	154	279	0	0
Chittagong School	80	150	0	0
Midnapore School	79	305	0	0
Patna School	109	383	0	0
Nizamut College, English	109	500	0	0
Bauleah School	80	177	0	0
Ajmere School	48	305	0	0
Saugor School	144	297	0	0
Ghazeepore School	69	200	0	0
Moulmein School	55	370	0	0
Goruckpore School	50	200	0	0
Furuckabad School	55	275	0	0
Jubbulpore School	24	125	0	0
Hoshingabad School	23	70	0	0
Bhaugulpore School	52	300	0	0
Pooree School	33	118	0	0
Bareilly School	60	250	0	0
Commillah School	88	300	0	0
Saugor School	88	209	0	0
Azimghur School	41	150	0	0
Arrah School	33	100	0	0
TOTAL	3,926	16,927	0	0

† The Hindoo College receives from the general fund Rs. 2,398-6-4 monthly. It levies from the pupils about Rs. 1,500 monthly (J. R. C.)

J. R. Colvin's note—contd.

	Number of the pupils at the end of 1837.	Average monthly expenditure.
Third Class, Vernacular.		Rs. A. P.
Allahabad School	18	27 0 0
Ajmere School	93	68 0 0
Agra College, Hindi	75	367 0 0
Bhaugulpore Hill School	65	239 0 0
Saugor, Hindi Department	134	165 0 0
Hoshingabad, Hindi Department	99	250 0 0
TOTAL	484	1,116 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	5,393	25,338 0 0

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22. I now turn to a most interesting independent experiment in education which has been conducted under the superintendence and with the aid of the actual personal exertions of Mr. L. Wilkinson, the Political Agent at Bhopal. This gentleman has organised schools at Sehore in which instruction is given through the medium of the Eastern learned, as well as the vernacular languages. There were 74 boys in his Mahommedan, and 116 in his Hindee Lower School, and 24 students of the Sanscrit college reading the higher Mathematics and Grammar. In the lower classes, Mr. Wilkinson caused to be used all the printed school books that he could find, though he complains of their deficiency, excepting however particularly from this complaint some " admirable " Marathee books printed at Bombay, to which I shall refer in another place. His great efforts and success were in the Sanscrit branch of the higher class, " in which the Hindoo Mathematics and the Hindoo system of Astronomy are adopted as the foundation of the course of study." From the Sidhants, which are wholly free from the fables of the Poorans and which carry the students just to that point to which the Science of Astronomy had been carried in Europe when Copernicius, Newton and Galileo, appeared to point out and to establish that the sun and not the earth was the centre of our system," he unfolded and explained to the pupils all the principal facts of Astronomy proving and illustrating the further truths of the science upon the basis afforded by those works. He is himself a Sanscrit scholar and an ardent student of the exact sciences, and though he modestly claims no credit to his own share in the tuition, it is yet certain that it is to his knowledge and indefatigable zeal that the great progress made is to be ascribed. The Native Teacher and three of his pupils visited Bombay in the early part of the year—and the extent of their acquirements may be estimated from the certificate of which an extract is given below, granted to them by one of the masters of the Scotch Missionary Schools at that place. " Rumeshwur

Gooroojee and his three pupils have attended a general examination of our girls' schools, and have inspected the classes and operations of our English Institutions. They shewed great interest in Mathematics and Geometry and proved themselves to be well acquainted with these branches. I have had a good deal of conversation with them in private and find that they have a good knowledge of History and are remarkably well instructed in Astronomy. They appear to be both inquisitive and discerning and I have no doubt that they will derive much benefit from their visit to Bombay. Could they add a knowledge of English to their other accomplishments it would be a matter of the greatest consequence. Their case shews however (and it is cheering to observe it) how much may be done through the medium of the Native languages." *J. R. Colvin's note*—contd.

23. Mr. Wilkinson candidly states that the first effect at least of his use of the Sidhants to expose the absurd ideas usually prevalent among Hindoos from the authority of the Poorans, was to rouse a very keen and general opposition among the Bramins in many parts of India. These are his words on the subject. " But as the class advanced, their new opinions and more especially the talented summary of them by Soobajee Bapoo* in his Sheromuni Prukash which has been widely circulated, have not failed to attract the attention and bring down upon them the condemnation of the most learned Shastrees and orthodox Pundits of Oojain, Poona, Benares, Muthoora, Nagpore and Sutara. The Oojain Pundits contended for the unadulterated Poorans, denying that the earth was a sphere and asserting that Bapoo's book was full of heterodoxy ; (the Muthoora Pundits) candidly, and with a keener foresight of the consequence of their study, pronounced the Sidhants and the whole Jyotish Shastrees (though acknowledged by all the Shastrus to be a Vedanagu†) to be an infidel science ; The Nagpore Pundits displayed an utter ignorance of the Sidhants. The Poona and Benares Pundits admitted the truth of both the Pooranic and Siddhantic system, and maintained that their contradictions were only apparent and might be reconciled. Our Sutara opponent alone sets the Poorans aside and contends for the truth of the Siddhants, condemning only the heterodoxy of our arresting the sun in his course to make him the centre of the system."

† Or offshoot of the sacred Vedas. [J. R. C.]

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BOMBAY.

29. In Bombay exertions for the object were urgently pressed forward by the experienced and instructed mind of Mr. Elphinstone. He uses on the topic these

* Bapu Deva Śāstri, who later on revised Wilkinson's translation of Bhāskara's Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. (Ed.)

J. R. Colvin's note—contd.

few and simple, but emphatic and memorable words,* —"In the meantime the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the Natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our objects, require the adoption of some measures to counteract them, *and the only one is to remove their prejudices, and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education.*"

30. The plans adopted under his auspices were of diffusing knowledge in the Provinces through the Vernacular Medium by the founding or assisting schools and by the preparation of class books and a system of improved superintendence. Means for an English education were afforded at the Presidency and an English class was, I believe, added to the Sanscrit College at Poona. Mr. Elphinstone's sentiments on the value of an English education and on the best means of creating a demand for it were stated in para. 27 of his minute of December 13th, 1823.† "If English could be at all diffused among persons who have the least time for reflection the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through the English would be able to communicate it in his own language to his countrymen. At present however, there is but little desire to learn English with any such view. The first step towards creating such a desire, would be to establish a school at Bombay where English might be taught classically, and where instruction might also be given in that language on history, geography and the popular branches of science."

31. A discussion was at that period raised and subsequently maintained by Mr. Warden, a member of the Bombay Government and now a member of the Honorable Court, on the propriety, which he strongly pressed, of making English a primary instead of a secondary branch of the scheme of Education.‡ The remarks of the Court on these discussions were thus expressed in their Despatch of February 18th, 1829.§ "You will have gathered from that despatch, that we, on the whole, concur in the more comprehensive, and we think sounder views of your late Governor, and you will have perceived that we have sanctioned the whole of his plans, which, as he has himself observed, are not inconsistent with those of Mr. Warden but go beyond them. Because an attempt is made to communicate to the Natives the elements of useful knowledge in their own languages, it by no means follows that to those who desire them, facilities should not be afforded for learning English. But

* See *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 22 [375/517].

† *Evidence of 1832 App. I*, No. 22 [372/516].

‡ *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 23, s. 25 [381/522].

§ Part of this despatch is given in the *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 10 [339/493]; but not the portion quoted.

such knowledge as suffices for the common purposes of life may without doubt be easier taught to the Natives in their own than in a foreign language. We are persuaded (and experience on the other side of the Peninsula confirms us in the opinion) that a desire for European knowledge and for the advantages connected with it is the only effectual stimulus to the acquisition of the English language." *J. R. Colvin's note*—contd.

32. The extent to which it was proposed to carry the plan will be seen from the extract of a previous Despatch of the Court of April 16th, 1828. "It remains to consider what may most expediently be done for the multiplication of schools. Your views extend to the immediate establishment of a school in each of the principal towns and Sudder Stations, and, when these shall have produced a sufficient number of persons capable of teaching, in all the Cusbas and large villages. We agree with you in looking to the wide extension of the benefits of education as the ultimate end to be arrived at."

33. And Sir John Malcolm observes on the subject in para. 232 of his Minute of November 30th, 1830.* "Education......is promulgated still more generally by large schools at every principal town, that are under the immediate inspection of the Collector, and one of the principal masters of them goes circuits throughout the village schools of the district." The number of Bombay provincial schools and of the pupils at them will be seen from the table which I attach, taken from the report of the Native Education Society of that Presidency for 1838, and the small number of vernacular books which all the care employed in such translations at Bombay has collected for the use of the schools, will appear from the further tables annexed, also taken from the same document. It will be seen that the list is well-supplied with elementary treatises of science but it is certainly far from rich in works of general literature adopted for popular instruction.

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42. A passage in this report† marks the necessity of great caution and reflection in the selection for publication of such works only in the Vernacular languages, as may be of clearly ascertained practical utility. It is said "Besides, the Depository is filled with bulky and expensive works which have been at times printed by the Society at a large outlay, but which from their price being beyond the reach of most Natives now remain a dead weight on the Society's hands, with scarcely a hope of the ultimate realization of their first cost. As an instance your Committee would refer to Hurry Kissowjee's *Conversations on Chemistry*, a work in itself reflecting great credit on the translator, and a desideratum in the lists of Native publications. It was printed in February last at an expense to the Society of Rs. 7,000 and the

* *Evidence of 1832, App. I,* No. 35 [413/545].

† Report of the Bombay Education Society for 1837.

J. R. Colvin's note—contd.

Depository price was fixed at Rs. 17-8 per copy, the lowest at which the Society could afford to sell it. *Not a single copy* has hitherto been disposed of except a few sent to regiments to complete their annual indents, and which are paid for by Government, and 20 copies forwarded to Mr. Wilkinson, Resident at Bhopal, by the Honorable J. Farish. And when it is borne in mind that many instances of a similar nature might be adduced, some of them involving even a larger outlay of capital, it will be evident that until the Society is, partially at least, reimbursed in the funds absorbed by these unproductive publications, or unless the ways and means of the institution are improved by more extensive contributions, its future operations as regards the publication of books must be confined to the occasional reprinting of such works *as from being used in the Society's Schools as class-books are sure of a ready sale.*" The lesson taught by these words is of real value, for there is nothing more likely to bring into discredit exertions which might be of great use, than the waste of money and labour in attempts which end in disappointment and uncompensated loss.

43. It remains only to be said on the subject of the Bombay educational Institutions that there is, as has been mentioned, a Sanscrit College at Poona, but I have not the means of reporting on the degree of improvement which the Superintendents have succeeded in engrafting on it. The present Superintendent, Captain Candy, bears a high character and it is satisfactory to see that he is charged also with the control of the vernacular schools of the Poona Circle. The great advantage of European superintendence has not yet been extended to the Guzerat Division of Vernacular schools.

Madras.

44. Less would appear to have been effected for founding an advanced system of the education in the Madras Territories than in the other Presidencies and my notice of what has been done in these territories must, most probably from the defective materials immediately at command, be nearly a blank. A scheme of District and Tuhseeldaree schools was projected by Sir Thomas Munro, but as far as I am informed, the measure has not been yet attended with any encouraging success. In a paper in my possession which was written in 1835 by Mr. James Prinsep when a Member of the Education Committee, he observed of the Madras Tuhseeldaree Schools, " They are every where pronounced to be unnecessary ; they are quite insignificant compared with the Native village school, the masters having fixed pay have little stimulus to win pupils, the children attending are of the poorest class, they remain merely to acquire the rudiments of reading and writing ; in short the 8,000 a year expended on the zillah schools is dissipated in a transcient effort not capable of producing any benefit ; it might, I think, be much more usefully employed in preparing permanent books of instruction to be distributed as

gifts or prizes by the public officers, who should be instructed to visit and give every encouragement to the schools and Colleges in their Districts." *J. R. Colvin's note*—contd.

45. The Honorable Court in paras. 4 to 8 of a Despatch to the Madras Government of 29th September 1830,* conveyed the following, as it seems to me, most just remarks and excellent directions for elevating the scale of instruction within that Presidency.

"By the measures originally contemplated by your Government no provision was made for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already exis ted, and an improvement of its quality by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the Native languages, was all that was then aimed at. It was indeed proposed to establish at the Presidency a central school for the education of teachers, but the teachers were to be instructed only in those elementary acquirements which they were afterwards to teach in the tuhseeldaree and collectorate schools. The improvements in education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which concern the education of the higher classes of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. *By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.* You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of Natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their Country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for Native education which has as yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency have had no tendency to produce such persons. Measures have been adopted by the Supreme Government for placing within the reach of higher classes of Natives under the Presidency of Bengal instruction in the English language and in European Literature and Science. These measures have been attended with a degree of success which, considering the short time during which they have been in operation, is in the highest degree satisfactory and justifies the most sanguine hopes with respect to the practicability of spreading useful knowledge among the Natives of India

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* *Evidence of 1832, App. I,* No. 21, §§ 4-8 [364/510].

J. R. Colvin's note—concld.

and diffusing among them the ideas and sentiments prevalent in civilized Europe. We are desirous that similar measures should be adopted at your Presidency."

46. I have not learned, but as I have said, it may probably be only from my imperfect knowledge of facts, that any practical result has up to this time followed from the declaration of these wise and benevolent views.

(Sd.) J. R. COLVIN,
Private Secretary.

APPENDIX A.

FISHER'S MEMOIR.*

This memoir was originally compiled in 1827 from the records at the East India House by Thomas Fisher, Searcher of the Records. In 1832 he added a supplement to his memoir giving further information relative to native schools and to the diffusion of science among the natives. The memoir and supplement appear as part of appendix I to the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company—February 14th to July 27th, 1832 (I Public). This was published in 1833 and again in 1853.

In this evidence, following Fisher's *Memoir*, and completing appendix I, are given a number of original documents on education in India.

The memoir deals with Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay and Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca. The following summary relates only to those portions of the memoir that deal with India proper.

The treatment refers to individual institutions rather than to

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* The full title is "MEMOIR, dated February 7, 1827, compiled from the Records of the *India* Governments at the *East India* House, in pursuance of a Minute of the Committee of Correspondence, showing the extent to which Aid had been afforded by the local Governments in *India* towards the establishment of NATIVE SCHOOLS in that country; *And*, A SUPPLEMENT to the foregoing Memoir dated February 23, 1832, containing a Narrative of the further proceedings of the local Governments in *India* relative to NATIVE SCHOOLS in that country, to the date of the latest records received from *India*."

The Memoir is printed in the *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, February 14 to July 27, 1832.* (I Public.) *Appendix I.*

These Minutes were first printed by order of the Honourable Court of Directors in January 1833; and they were again ordered to be printed on the 20th August 1853. In the former the Memoir and Supplement occupy pp. 194 to 324; and in the latter pp. 395 to 483. References are given to both editions.'

education as a whole. In the following notes the information given by Fisher both in the memoir and supplement is combined, and Fisher's order, which is documentary, has been somewhat changed.

Analysis of Fisher's Memoir and Supplement.

I.—Bengal.

The Presidency Town.

The Calcutta Madrassa was founded in 1781 by Warren Hastings, who provided a building at his own expense. This expenditure was afterwards charged to the Company. The Bengal Government also assigned lands of the value of Rs. 29,000 a year for the support of the institution. The original intention was to promote the study of the Arabic and Persian languages and of Muhammadan law with a view to supplying officers for the courts of justice. In 1785 the lands were assigned by Sanad to Muhamad Muiz-ud-din, the Superior, and to his successors. In 1788 complaints of grave misconduct were received and the management was assumed by Government. In 1791 the institution was again found to be in a state of disorder and a new superior was appointed and the management placed in the hands of a Committee, and regulations were framed. In 1812 Dr. Lumsden reported that the institution was again in a state of inefficiency. In 1818 a similar report was made by the Committee who recommended the appointment of a European Secretary. Captain F. Irvine was appointed with a salary of Rs. 300 per mensem, and the Government at the same time fixed the revenues of the Madrassa at Rs. 30,000 per annum. In 1821 the Committee reported on the lack of books—the stock consisting only of 12 volumes—and Government agreed to an expenditure of some Rs. 6,000 for the formation of a respectable library. In the same year new regulations were framed. In 1822 the Committee submitted a report of the first annual examination, which appears to have been a success.

In 1822 Dr. Lumsden was appointed Secretary. In the same year the Committee reported that " the prejudices of the preceptors opposed considerable obstacles in the way of reform."

In 1823, Government, owing to the unsuitable location of the institution, ordered the construction of a new college in Hastings Place and sanctioned Rs. 1,40,537 for the purpose. Later an English class was established, which in 1828 consisted of 42 out of 73, the total number of students. [196, 217, 252/396, 409, 435.]*

* The first set of numbers (196, 217, 252) refers to pages in the 1833 edition; the other numbers refer to the 1853 edition.

The Calcutta Hindu Sanskrit College.—In 1821 it was considered that Government was relieved from the pledge given in 1811 to establish colleges at Nadia and Tirhut. H. H. Wilson gave reasons for abandoning that design and suggested the foundation at the Presidency of an institution similar to that at Benares, but upon a larger scale. Government appointed a Committee and Lieutenant Price as Secretary on Rs. 300 per mensem and gave a grant of Rs. 30,000 per mensem and Rs. 1,20,000 for the erection of the college.* The college was opened in 1824. (Here follows an account of the importation of certain philosophical apparatus which has already been dealt with in Chapter V, page 79.) "In 1827, the acquirements of the students in the Sanskrit language and literature had reached a point of excellence which had never before been attained under the native system of education." A medical and an English class had been formed. The report of 1829 states that Rs. 300 per mensem had been assigned for the establishment of a hospital in the vicinity of the college. In 1823 Rammohan Roy addressed the Governor-General.† Government thought the letter had been written under some misapprehension of their views regarding the Sanskrit College (Fisher then quotes the despatch of 18th February 1824 which has already been given as document No. 24, and the Committee of Public Instruction's defence of their policy which has already been given as document No. 25).‡ [212, 217, 254/406, 410, 436.]

Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College.—In 1816 some native gentleman of Calcutta subscribed Rs. 1,13,179 to found a seminary. It was placed under the General Committee as a condition of aid to the extent of Rs. 300 per mensem. Mr. Ross was appointed lecturer in natural philosophy. The report of the examination for 1824-5 conducted by Mr. Wilson appears favourable. That for 1825 gives a still more favourable view. The number of pupils was 200. A limited number of scholarships were endowed by Government. The reports of 1827 and 1828 give the subjects of study as natural and experimental philosophy, chemistry, mathematics, algebra, Tytler's Elements of General History, Russell's Modern Europe, with Milton and Shakespeare. In 1826 the pupils numbered 196, in 1827, 372 and in 1828, 437, of which last number 100 received gratuitous education. In 1829 the progress was less satisfactory than formerly and the services of the Revd. Dr. J. Adamson were secured. [217, 256/410, 437.]

English College.—The Committee suggested to Government, who approved, the establishment of a distinct *English College* for the more advanced students from the Hindu and Muhammadan colleges to whom gratuitous instruction in

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* See the extract from the Resolution of 21st August 1821 quoted in chapter V, p. 79.

† See Chapter V and document No. 26, p. 98.

‡ See also page 31 and document No. 14, p. 39.

literature and science by means of the English language should be given. The estimated cost was Rs. 24,000 per annum. The Court of Directors were asked to sanction this college and to send out two preceptors at a salary of Rs. 400 per mensem each.* [218/410.]

School for Native Doctors.—In 1822 the establishment of a medical school to consist of 20 students with allowances of Rs. 8 per mensem each, and a superintendent on Rs. 800 was settled. The Court did not altogether approve and expressed a preference for the Fort St. George plan of training half-castes as dressers. The Court also thought the salary of the superintendent excessive. In 1825 the Medical Board explained their reasons for not adopting the Madras system and the superiority of their own scheme. During the prevalence of cholera in 1825 the students were most usefully employed. In 1826 the number of students was increased to 50 and the stipends to Rs. 10. The Court approved and sent out certain models. [270/447.]

The Calcutta Mission College, etc.—For several of these institutions Government has granted the land which they occupy. [220/412.]

The Bhowanipore and Kidderpore Schools were established and supported by voluntary subscription for the instruction of Hindu lads in English. In 1829 Europeans and Indians were associated in the management and the School Society made a monthly grant. The General Committee also placed at the disposal of the School Society Rs. 1,000 for the use of each school, considering it to be "a great object to establish schools of this description, which might in time serve as preparatory steps to the Hindoo College and relieve that institution of part of the duty of elementary tuition." They have since been united. [264/442.]

The Old Calcutta Charity School.—The funds were augmented "from the restitution money received for pulling down the English church by the Moors at the capture of Calcutta in 1756" and by a legacy left by Mr. Constantine. The old court house belonged to the school. The school was eventually united with the Calcutta Free School. [204/401.]

The Calcutta Free School Society was founded in 1789. The Governor General in Council communicated the plan and object of the society throughout Bengal. The Company's surgeons were to give gratuitous attendance and medicines were to be provided free by Government.

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* See the despatch of 5th September 1827, §§ 20-23. The proposal does not seem to have meant a separate college, but separate classes. The Court approved and promised to take steps to secure two preceptors. (The despatch is printed in the *Evidence of 1832*, No. 8 [333/489], and also in the *Madras Selections* of 1855, pp. XXIX-XXXV.)

In 1800 the funds of the old and new schools were amalgamated and amounted to Rs. 2,72,000. In 1811 application was made to Madras "for a teacher conversant with the Lancasterian plan of instruction" but without success.* In 1827 in consequence of depreciation of Government securities the funds available became reduced and Government gave a grant of Rs. 800 a month. [204, 272/401, 448.]

The Calcutta Benevolent Institute was founded in 1810 to afford instruction in Bengali and English to the descendants of indigent Christians. Dr. W. Carey was the first secretary. In 1826 the average daily attendance was 250. Government then gave a grant of Rs. 13,000 and in 1827 a permanent grant of Rs. 200 per mensem was made. [276/451.]

Calcutta Ladies' Schools for native females.—In 1825 a society of ladies applied to Government for a grant of Rs. 10,000. This was approved but vetoed by the Governor-General, who had "ascertained that it had been publicly avowed in the hearing of many native gentlemen that the object of the ladies' society was the propagation of the Christian religion." The Court of Directors confirmed his decision. [277/451.]

Calcutta School Book Society.—This institution was founded in 1817 "with a view to the promotion of the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives." "The plan of the Society carefully excludes all means calculated to excite religious controversy." In 1821 the funds were low; 126,446 copies of useful works had been put into circulation; and Government sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 6,000. In 1830 the published works of the Society comprised 38 volumes. (A list of these works is given.) In 1828 and 1829 some 28,671 copies were circulated. The expenditure within that period appears to have been Rs. 31,000. (An extract from the report of the Society follows.) [210, 272/405, 449.]

The Calcutta School Society was formed in 1819 for the purpose of establishing native schools. In 1823 application was made to Government for aid and a grant of Rs. 6,000 a year was given and approved by the Directors in 1825.† The Directors particularly commended the Society's education of teachers. [211, 272/406, 448.]

The Mufassal.

Agra College.—In 1822 the accumulated proceeds of certain property of the late Gangadhar Pandit amounted to nearly Rs. 1,50,000. The Committee suggested a college in which the Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi languages should be taught, but did not recommend the immediate introduction of the English language

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* See p. 23. The Bell and Lancasterian methods were similar; but it was Bell that was associated with Madras.

† See the extract from the despatch of 9th March 1825 quoted in chapter IV, p. 50.

and European science. The institution of a college with an annual expenditure of Rs. 15,240, exclusive of house-rent, was sanctioned. In 1827 the "elements of geography, astronomy and of mathematics, according to the European system" were introduced. After some discussion an English class was formed. The students numbered 117 in 1826; 210 in 1827; 203 in 1829, of whom 73 received stipends. [215, 253/408, 435.]

Ajmer Schools.—In 1818 the Vizier determined to introduce the Lancasterian system of education in Rajputana. Mr. J. Carey, the son of Professor Carey, was selected by the Governor-General for this service. In 1822 there were four schools with 100 pupils. Mr. Carey "introduced the Christian Scriptures as school books; a measure which was considered objectionable."* The Company's grant up to 1823 amounted to Rs. 17,859. In 1827 the schools were reduced to one at Ajmer. In 1828 there were less than 200 boys in this school. The Committee complains of the inadequacy of the reports. [209, 259/405, 439.]

Allahabad School.—The native school at Allahabad was started in 1825 by some English residents who subscribed about Rs. 30 per mensem. In 1826 there were 48 pupils and application for Government assistance was made. The General Committee supplied books to the value of Rs. 1,000. In 1830 there were about 64 students and the report was very favourable and a grant of Rs. 100 per mensem was sanctioned. [260/440.]

Bareilly.—In 1827 the local agents reported that there were 121 schools in Bareilly and also 11 persons who taught Arabic and two who taught medicine. In the villages around Bareilly were 22 schools and in the other parts of the district were 220 schools besides the college of Mahsud Ali at Badaun. Persian and arithmetic were taught, and in the colleges Arabic. There were schools in which the children of Mahajans and those intended for Patwaris were taught accounts. "Hindus and Mussalmans have no scruples about reading together." The teachers were paid from Rs. 3 to Rs. 7 a month and were given food and presents. "The boys begin to study at 6 years of age sometimes, but seldom till 20; in the colleges from 14 to 25, sometimes 30."

The Committee suggested the establishment of a college in this district. The Bengal Government fully concurred and a local committee was named. "The proposed establishment was, upon further consideration, abandoned." [261/441.]

Benares Sanskrit College.—This was projected by J. Duncan, the Resident at Benares, in 1791. The expense for the first year was limited to Rs. 14,000, but in the following year was increased to Rs. 20,000. The object of the institution was "the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of the

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* See page 6.

Hindus." In 1811 Lord Minto suggested the reform of the Benares College. "The principal cause of the want of efficiency....arises from the prejudices of Hindus against the office of *professor* considered as an *office*, or even as a *service*." "The malversation of the former native rector and the feuds among the members of the college" had materially defeated the object of the institution. In 1815 a European superintendent (Mr. Galanos) was appointed. In 1820 Mr. H. H. Wilson and Lieutenant Fell were desired to join the Committee for the purpose of facilitating the production of a full report. The Committee reported a balance on hand of Rs. 97,343, but very little proficiency. In 1820 Lieutenant E. Fell was appointed superintendent. In 1821 general improvement was reported. The total expenditure up to December 1824 amounted to Rs. 6,74,000. In 1824 Lieutenant Fell died. The report of 1824 was not satisfactory. "The attendance of the local Committee at the disputation and distribution of prizes had been prevented by unexplained circumstances." In 1827 a separate English School was sanctioned.* [201, 217, 253/399, 409, 435.]

Benares Charity School.—In 1814 Jai Narain Ghosal gave Rs. 20,000 for a school. The school was founded in 1818 and the Revd. D. Corrie was appointed to the management thereof. Government gave a grant of Rs. 3,033 per annum. The subjects taught were English, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, arithmetic, Government regulations, history, geography, astronomy. In 1825 Kali Sankar Ghosal, the son of Jai Narain Ghosal, increased the funds by Rs. 20,000. [208/404.]

The Bhagalpur School was established in 1823 to provide instruction for recruits and children of soldiers. Government provided Rs. 1,500 for a school house, Rs. 200 per mensem for the school and Rs. 100 per mensem for the Superintendent (Captain J. Graham), later augmented to Rs. 200. In 1824 the Bishop of Calcutta visited the school and expressed his pleasure at the progress made. In 1828 it was proposed to discontinue the school as "it was considered inexpedient to burthen the Education Fund with a charge of Rs. 300 a month." The Committee appear to have been more satisfied with the report of 1829-30. [219, 258/411, 438.]

Biaspur Seminary.—In 1822 a petition relating to a pension of Rs. 5 per mensem, which had been granted in 1793 "for the support of a Hindu Seminary at Biaspur," was allowed. [289/460.]

Birbhum.—In 1820, a Hindu, named Sarbanund, offered Rs. 5,000 as an endowment for a native school on condition that his claim to the "oojahship" should be sanctioned. The offer was declined. [290/460.]

Burdwan.—In 1818 a claim of a pension of Rs. 60 per annum for the support of "a religious institution and seminary" was allowed. In 1819 a similar claim in

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* See also documents Nos. 2, 3 and 4, pp. 10-13.

connexion with a madrassa in the district of Burdwan was made, but no decision is recorded. In 1823 an endowment of Rs. 254 per annum "for a college at Burdwan" was reported. [284/456.]

The Cawnpore Free School was established about 1820 chiefly to afford warrant and non-commissioned officers instruction superior to that of the regimental schools. "The English, Hindu and Muhammadan lads were all educated together....the native children flocked to the school in pursuit of the English language." In 1823 there were 187 scholars and a grant of Rs. 400 per mensem was given. In 1830 the report was very satisfactory; there were then 75 scholars learning English, 47 learning Sanskrit and 23 studying Persian and Arabic. [211, 260/406, 440.]

The Chinsura Schools.—Certain schools were projected by Mr. R. May, a missionary, and were conducted by him on the Lancasterian plan. Mr. Watson, Judge of the Court of Circuit, writes "My curiosity and admiration were, I confess, never more excited than on the occasion of the visit I paid to the principal seminary at Chinsurah, under Mr. May, in which with its affiliated schools, no less than 800 children are instructed." Between 1814 and 1815 sixteen schools had been established: the average attendance was 951. The estimated cost of 20 such schools was Rs. 330 per mensem. Government gave Rs. 600 per mensem for the purpose of establishing schools on Mr. May's plan. In 1815 the natives, in rivalry, opened some schools. In 1815 also Mr. May intimated "his intention of forming a separate school for teachers." In 1816 the schools numbered 30 with 2,000 pupils. In 1818, when Mr. May died, there were 36 schools with 3,000 pupils. In 1824 these schools were placed under the Instruction Committee. They appear to have "declined considerably." In 1829 there were 14 schools with 1,540 pupils. [206, 258/403, 439.]

The Chinsura Free School, a separate establishment, in 1829 contained 64 pupils. [259-439.]

Chittagong Madrassa.—In 1827 it was reported that Mir Hinja had bequeathed lands for the endowment of this Madrassa. This endowment produced Rs. 1,570 per annum and provided for the instruction of 50 students. [289/460.]

Dacca Schools.—In 1823 a society was formed in Dacca for the support of the local schools. The society took under its care 6 schools which for some time had been supported by the Serampore Society, and which in three years had increased to 25 with 1,414 pupils. "Through some unaccountable cause the native subscribers withdrew their support in 1826." The General Committee held that these schools did not strictly fall within their jurisdiction and stated that the fund at their disposal was already entirely appropriated. Government, however, gave a sum of Rs. 3,000 and a supply of school books. [260/440.]

Delhi College.—In reply to an enquiry from the General Committee Mr. J. H. Taylor reported on the state of education at Delhi. He noted lack of encourage-

ment, ancient endowments in a state of neglect, poverty of the people; "on the other hand, that many old colleges exist." The establishment of a college at Delhi was determined and Rs. 600 per mensem was appropriated from the education fund and Rs. 250 per mensem from an existing fund at Delhi.

A donation of Rs. 1,70,000 was made by Nawab Islamaid-ud-Dowla, late minister of the King of Oudh. In 1827 the study of astronomy and mathematics on European principles was introduced. In 1827 the students numbered 204; in 1828, 199 and in 1829 the number was 152. The *Delhi Institution* "has since been founded." [215, 253/408, 435.]

Delhi Madrassa.—A grant of Rs. 7,115 from the Town Duty Fund was made towards the repair of the *Madrassa of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan,** "an edifice of great beauty and celebrity." Mr. Taylor was appointed superintendent of this institution with a salary of Rs. 150 per mensem and a grant of Rs. 700 per mensem was allotted to it in addition. [216/408.]

The Delhi Schools of Mr. Fraser.—Mr. Fraser had at different periods since 1814 instituted schools for about 80 boys at an expense to himself of about Rs. 200 per mensem.† He suggested that the Committee should take over his schools and extend them so as to educate 400 boys at an estimated cost of Rs. 8,400 per annum. The Committee refused on the grounds that the charge was large compared with the Chinsurah schools; and remarked that, as the peasantry of few other countries would bear a comparison as to their state of education with those of many parts of British India, the limited funds under the Committee's management ought to be employed in giving a liberal education to the higher classes of the community. [216/409.]

Delhi Territory.—A report of 1826 states that "in the town of Panipat there are several ill-supported and thinly attended schools......In parganah Sonepat it is reported by the Thanedar that there are but three schools......For many years Mr. William Fraser supported schools in the larger villages of the Parganah, but was forced to withdraw his aid.......In the town of Karnal (containing 20,000 inhabitants) there is only one school." In 18 mosque schools were 227 pupils. A report of 1827 gives for the southern division of Delhi 27 Muslim schools with 289 pupils and 24 teachers, and 70 Hindu schools with 886 pupils and 70 teachers. Another report of 1827 gives details of "31 schools in this district and of 247 schools in Delhi and its immediate vicinity." The education is stated to have been either gratuitous, or the remuneration provided by the scholar; "except in

* The father of the first Nizam of Hyderabad. The Madrassa is just opposite the Ajmer Gate. See CARR STEPHEN *Archæology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, p. 263.

† See Document No. 5, p. 13.

the instance of one school of seven scholars the master of which received Rs. 3 per month from the King." [268/445.]

Etawah School or (?) *Mainpuri College.*—The magistrate of Etawah had appropriated for teachers Rs. 101 out of the Town Duties. This was eventually sanctioned and the appropriation was continued until 1828 when, it appears, "no progress had been made in useful learning, that the greater number of pupils was generally absent.....Under these circumstances the institution was abolished." [267/441.]

Hamirpur in Bundelkhand.—In 1828 Mr. M. Ainsle reported the establishment of a school at Hamirpur and that the Raja of Datia had asked to be allowed to subscribe Rs. 1,000 towards it. [281/454.]

Hijili Madrassa.—In 1814 a claim of one rupee a day, for the support of a madrassa in the village of Burbah, was accepted and paid with arrears. [208/404.]

Hill Country.—Mr. Gerard suggested the establishment of schools, but the Committee resolved to limit their aid to the supply of books. [216-409.]

Hooghly Imambara.—In 1817 the existence of a small school attached to the Hooghly Imambara was reported. In 1824 this institution had 'acquired the title of a madrassa' and was in a prosperous state. The funds had by prudent management amounted to Rs. 16,000 per annum. The expenses were Rs. 505 per mensem. There were 83 students, 60 of whom were reading English. There appeared to be other funds available "particularly the purchase money of the Saidpur estate." [285/457.]

The Jaunpore Native Free School was established in 1829. In 1830, 116 boys were in attendance. The school was free and was "conducted on the Lancasterian plan." [279/453.]

Day School at Meerut.—In 1819 a retired Sergeant, Robert Blewett, was allowed to open a day school at Meerut. [277/452.]

The Meerut Free School was established by some European officials. In 1829 there were 21 European, 16 Hindu, 34 Mussalman pupils. An application for a grant was refused by the General Committee on the grounds that all their funds were appropriated, and that their funds were intended for natives and not for Europeans. The Committee's refusal concludes by saying "our chief hope of making any advance.....is, by forming and fostering a few effective establishments rather than by the multiplication of seminaries of an inferior description." [277/452.]

Murshidabad College and School.—In 1825 Government sanctioned the establishment of an institution at Murshidabad for the education of members of the Nizamat family at an annual cost of Rs. 16,536. In 1826 it was reported that, the members of the family of the Nizam "not consenting to embrace the opportunity of entering the institution, the Resident filled up the number of 50 students,

of whom six were to attend the college—44 the school." The annual charge was Rs. 18,000. [219, 281/411, 454.]

Barnagore School in the city of Murshidabad.—In 1818 a claim for Rs. 5 per mensem for the support of a college at Murshidabad was allowed. In 1821 this claim was again considered and allowed. [285/457.]

Proposed Colleges at Nadia and Tirhut.—The establishment of colleges at these places was proposed by Lord Minto in 1811.* A committee was formed in Nadia to carry out the plan but nothing was done until 1816 when the committee reported on the state of education in Nadia. There were 46 schools with about 380 students "their ages averaging between 25 and 35 years." Government made further enquiries but no reply appears to have been received by 1821. At Tirhut also a committee was appointed to carry out the idea. Suggestions were made but nothing had been done by 1821. In that year (1821) the design of founding colleges at Nadia and Tirhut was finally abandoned. [205/402.]

Nadia.—(The supplement contains further information about Nadia.) In 1829 a petition for the restitution of allowances amounting to Rs. 100 per mensem was investigated and eventually sanctioned by the Committee of Public Instruction. A report states that Nadia contains about 25 *tols*. The instruction is free. The Pandits receive funds from former grants of the Raja of Nadia and presents from the zamindars. The students are full grown men : the usual number in a tol is about 20 to 25 but there may be some 50 to 60. The total number of students is said to be from 500 to 600, some from remote parts of India. The chief study is *Nyaya* or logic. From 1813 to 1824 various claims to the continuance of allowances were made and granted. [257, 286, 438, 458.]

State of Education in Nagpore.—In 1826 Mr. R. Jenkins reported on education in the country of Nagpore. In Captain Gordon's district were 113 schools with 1,170 pupils : "calculating the number of children under sixteen years, beyond which age they never remain at school, at 80,077 it would appear that public instruction is only extended to one in eighty." In the Wainganga district were 55 schools with 452 pupils. In Captain Montgomerie's district were only 7 schools. In Chhattisgarh were 4 or 5 schools at Rattanpur, 5 at Raipur and perhaps one in each parganah. The schoolmasters received from two to four annas a month from each scholar. Private tuition was given free to a still greater number of children by the village pandits. The teachers were paid by the parents at the rate of two or three rupees per annum or by presents, "but more frequently by the tutor living free of expense with the parents of the children." The number of public schools in which payments were made by the parents was 46 with 736 pupils. There were

* See document No. 6, p. 19.

51 private tutors with 323 pupils. The remuneration of private tutors varied from Rs. 2 per mensem in addition to their food and clothing, to Rs. 30. [282/455.]

Rajshahi.—In 1817 a claim for Rs. 7-8 per mensem "for performing the duty of a school" appears to have been disallowed.

In 1813 a claim for Rs. 90 per annum for the support of a college, which, it was reported, was still efficiently maintained, was allowed. [288/459.]

School at Surgeemarree in Rangpur.*—In 1826 Mr. D. Scott "called the attention of the Bengal Government to the rude and barbarous state of the inhabitants of the Garo mountains." A school was started with a headmaster on Rs. 200 per mensem, a native assistant at Rs. 50; stipends for 40 boys Rs. 160; contingencies Rs. 40. The first incumbent resigned and the second died in 1828. [279/453.]

The Sylhet Madrassa was reported upon in 1827. "A few disciples," were instructed and "the parties appeared to be extremely indigent." [289/459.]

General.

The General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta.—In 1823 a note by Holt Mackenzie† led to the formation of a General Committee of Public Instruction.‡ The lakh of rupees appropriated for education§ was placed at the Committee's disposal. The schools at Chinsurah, Rajputana and Bhagalpur were placed under the control of the Committee. Correspondence relating to education was transferred to the office of the Persian Secretary.|| The arrears of the lakh of rupees for 1821-2 and 1822-3 amounting to Rs. 1,66,400 were placed at their disposal. In 1826 the Government forwarded a report of the Committee to the Court of Directors (Fisher then gives an analysis of this report which consists of accounts of the various institutions. The essential information contained in Fisher's analysis has been incorporated in the preceding paragraphs.) [214, 252/408, 434.]

Despatch of 5th September 1827.¶—This despatch suggests the restriction of expenses, and the abolition of pensions to students. The services of the late Dr. Lumsden are eulogised: the arrangements proposed in the Vidyalaya are confirmed, particularly the two professorships. It directs attention to the

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* Kurigram south of Cooch Bihar. Singimari river is a tributary of the Brahmaputra.

† Document No. 17, p. 57.

‡ Document No. 16, p. 54.

§ Document No. 7, p. 22.

|| See documents Nos. 15 and 20, pp. 54 and 71.

¶ Printed in *Evidence of 1832. App. I,* No. 8 [333/489] and also in *Madras Selections, 1855,* p. 29.

moral as well as the intellectual character of the students. The orders relating to employment in the law courts are confirmed. [267/445.]

*Despatch of 18th February 1829.**—This relates to the Finances of the Company and directs economy. [267/445.]

Despatch of 29th September 1830.†—This despatch reviews the reports on institutions, which are considered highly gratifying. It reviews the several institutions, refers to the establishment of English colleges, to English as the language of public business and the proposed college at Bareilly, which is approved. [267/445.]

Despatch of 24th August 1831.‡—This despatch reviews the encouraging reports on institutions. It approves the establishment of a hospital in connexion with the Calcutta Sanskrit College. The progress of the Anglo-Indian College is considered not so satisfactory. The donation by Raja Ashmad-ud-Dowla to the college at Delhi is considered important aid. The encouragement given to the Serampore publications in English and Bengali is approved. [267/445.]

Regulation XI of 1826.—In 1826 a Committee was formed to consider the proposal to make literary attainments the condition of law appointments; and Regulation XI of 1826 in which certain rules were embodied was passed. The last of these rules allows learned natives to claim examination for a certificate at the annual examinations at the Madrassa and Hindu Colleges. [266/444.]

The Press.—A press, as a means of extending knowledge by the introduction of printed books, involving an outlay of Rs. 13,000 with an establishment costing Rs. 715 per mensem was authorized. Later the establishment was transferred to the Baptist Mission Press. Between 1824 and 1830 it cost Rs. 98,890. Thirty-three works were produced and their estimated value was Rs. 58,890. (Details of publications are given.§) [218/411.]

Contributions.—Contributions to the Education Fund from the Rajas Kali-Sankar Ghosal, Harinath Rai, and Budanath Rai to the amounts of Rs. 92,000 were received.

Regimental schools.—"Provision is made by the Government for the education of all natives who enter the military service of the Company at this presidency and of their children." [290/460.]

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* Printed in *Evidence of 1832. App. I.*, No. 10 [339/493].

† Printed in *Evidence of 1832. App. I*, No. 11 [339/493]; and *Madras Selections, 1855*, p. XXXVI—XLIV.

‡ Printed in *Evidence of 1837. App. I.*, No. 12 [346/498].

§ See also document No. 35, p. 140.

FORT ST. GEORGE.

Tanjore.—From a very early period the missionaries Zeigenbald, Gericke, Kiernander and Swartz* had schools at their several stations of Madras, Cuddalore, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly. In 1787 the Court of Directors authorised a permanent grant of 250 pagodas† each for the three schools whch had been established at Tanjore, Ramandapuram and Shivaganga. Later on there appears to have been a school at each of Tanjore and Kumbakonam costing Rs. 4,200 per annum. In 1820 a request was received by Government for titles to certain plots of ground connected with the schools and chapels in Tanjore. [220, 290/412, 460.]

Sunday School at the Mount.—In 1812 a Sunday school was established at St. Thomas' Mount "to afford elementary instruction on the Lancasterian plan to half caste and native children." A grant of 300 pagodas was made. [220/412.]

Cuddapah.—In 1814, Mr. Ross, the Collector of Cuddapah, suggested the establishment of a school in each district. Government authorised an experiment at Cuddapah under Mr. Ross. Mr. Ross died soon afterwards. [221/412.]

Palamcottah and Tinnevelly.—In 1817 and 1818 Mr. Hough, a missionary, started a school at Palamcottah and another at Tinnevelly. In 1819 he asked for a grant of 25 pagodas a month, which was refused. The Court of Directors, however, remarked upon the utility of these schools and desired to be informed of the grounds for the refusal. The Madras Government explained that the private character of the schools, the uncertain continuance of Mr. Hough's superintendence and the probable inconvenience of the precedent had determined their decision; but that the Court's wishes would be borne in mind. [221/412.]

Committee of Public Instruction.—In 1822 Sir Thomas Munro suggested‡ a survey of the actual state of education in the various provinces under the Madras Government. "It is not my intention," Sir Thomas writes, "to recommend any interference whatever in the native schools....the people should be left to manage their schools in their own way. All we ought to do is to facilitate the operations of these schools, by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them, and perhaps granting additional ones." The Court of Directors gave great credit

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* See chapter I, p. 3.

† In Madras, down to 1818, accounts were kept in pagodas, fanams and kas (8 kas=1 fanam, 42 fanams=1 pagoda). In 1818 the rupee was made the standard coin and the pagoda was then reckoned equivalent to 3½ rupees.

‡ See *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 14 [349/500].

to Sir Thomas Munro for having originated the enquiry. In 1826 the Madras Government forwarded to the Court the several returns of which the following is a summary.

Fees.—The schools are for the most part supported by fees varying from one anna to four rupees per mensem; ordinarily about 4 annas and seldom exceeding half a rupee.

Endowments.—Endowments bringing in some Rs. 4,212 are reported but other endowments of which the value is not stated are recorded. The Raja of Tanjore supports 44 schools and 77 colleges and the Zamorin Raja supports a college. Schools at the public expense (costing Rs. 1,361) are mentioned. In some districts it is also reported that "public endowments for the advancement of learning have been diverted from their original purpose or resumed."

Statistics for each district except Canara are given. The totals are—

——	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Male.	Female.	TOTAL.
Scholars	175,089	13,561	184,110	4,540	188,650
Population	...	...	6,502,600	6,091,593	12,594,193

Mr. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary, gives details (Part of his report is given above as document No. 18). On these reports Sir Thomas Munro recorded a minute dated the 10th March 1826. (Fisher gives an abstract of this minute which, however, occurs above as document No. 21, p. 73.)

The minute of Sir Thomas Munro concludes by recommending the appointment of a *Committee of Public Instruction.* With very slight modification the Council concurred in the President's suggestions. The following were appointed members of the Committee:—H. S. Graeme, W. Oliver, John Stokes, and A. D. Campbell.

The object of the Committee is stated to be "the general improvement of education." The members are instructed "to acquaint themselves fully with its actual state, and to consider and report to Government from time to time the results of their enquiries and deliberations respecting the best means of improving it." A disbursement of Rs. 45,000 per annum is authorised.

In 1826 the Committee issued a circular letter, dated the 24th June, to the several officers in the interior. (This letter is given in full.) It states that "no measures can be pursued, whatever other advantages they may offer, which are

at variance with the customs and prejudices of the people;" that Government contemplate the endowment of two superior and 15 subordinate schools for each of the collectorates; that, however, it seems necessary, "as a preliminary step, to form a body of efficient teachers;" and that, to ensure this, "a central school or college is now established at the Presidency;" and it is requested that two candidates from each province be selected and directed to proceed to Madras, "who will receive each a stipend of Rs. 15, and when they shall have qualified themselves for the undertaking they will be sent back to the province on the same pay, to commence their duties as masters in the collectorate schools."

The Committee also proposed that in three of the principal towns of each collectorate a tahsildary teacher should be appointed on Rs. 9 per mensem. The schools should be open to Brahmans and Sudras alike. The Committee also proposed to send into the provinces, as teachers of Sanskrit, Arabic, Tamil or Telugu and Persian, at a few of the principal towns, some of the law students at the college.

In 1826 the Committee of Public Instruction was incorporated under the superintendence of the College Board. In 1827 it was reported that 10 candidates for the situation of collectorate teachers were being trained "with the most encouraging prospects of success;" that eight tahsildary schools had been established within the Presidency district and that 189 scholars were receiving instruction in them. The Board fixed the rate of fees to be levied by a master so that "his monthly salary, including these fees, may become double the amount which he will receive from Government."

In 1827 the Committee obtained permission to print at the College press a series of works in the languages of that part of India. In 1829 a school was established at Bangalore for instruction in the English and native languages for which the Raja of Mysore had promised Rs. 350 per annum. The Madras Government granted an equal sum. [222, 291/413, 461.]

The Madras School Society is similar to that at Calcutta. A grant of Rs. 3,000 and an annual sum of Rs. 6,000 has been authorised. (It is later described as a branch of that at Calcutta.) [228, 297/417, 465.]

In 1827 a Muhammadan tahsildary teacher in addition to the three Hindu teachers at *Chittoor* was approved, as also was the establishment of a tahsildary school at *Arcot*. In 1828 a school-room was erected at Calicut and another at *Paulghelcherry* 'at an expense of Rs. 60-4-7;' and an instructor was appointed for *Masulipatam*. In 1829 a teacher was approved for *Kumbakonam* and a tahsildary school at *Trichinopoly* was approved. [296/464.]

Regimental schools.—Provision is made by Government for the education of the natives in military service and their children. [297/465.]

BOMBAY.

In 1752 two additional chaplains were appointed for Tellechery and Anjengo "that the rising generation might be instructed in the Protestant religion." The Court also recommended to the Bombay Government "the setting up and establishing of charity schools." [229/417.]

Mrs. Boyd's Charity.—In 1767 Mrs. Eleanor Boyd left Rs. 6,000 to the charity school at Bombay, which had, since 1918, been supported by voluntary subscriptions. The funds of this institution, apart from Mrs. Boyd's legacy, appear to have amounted to Rs. 46,115 in 1824. Later Mrs. Boyd's legacy is referred to as being 'appropriated as an endowment to the Bombay Education Society.' [229, 297/418, 465.]

Engineer Institution at Bombay.—The Engineer Institution is maintained by Government. In 1824 there were 36 native students and 14 lads of European descent. The Superintendent was Captain Jervis. In 1826 the Court of Directors observed that this institution had been established without their authority. In 1826 there were 86 students and the report appears to have given 'high satisfaction' to Government. In 1829 the Court sanctioned the increase to Rs. 800 per mensem of Captain Jervis' pay. [245, 309/430, 473.]

Captain Sutherland's plan.—In 1825 Captain Sutherland formulated a plan for educating youths for the revenue service which was approved (no details are given), and 24 boys were placed under Captain Jervis and a sum of Rs. 400 per mensem was allotted—Rs. 200 for a superintendent and Rs. 200 for 25 stipends at Rs. 8 each.

Medical School, Bombay.—In 1825 a scheme for an institution for the instruction of natives in medicine was formulated. This institution was to be similar to that at Calcutta. The pay of the principal was Rs. 500 per mensem and his staff consisted of three munshis each on Rs. 40 per mensem and two peons "to assist in reading and translating in the different languages." The work at first appears to have consisted principally of translating the pharmacopoeia, a book on anatomy and physiology, and other medical works. [311/474.]

Elphinstone Professorships.—In 1827, on the retirement of Mr. Elphinstone, a sum of Rs. 1,20,000 was subscribed as an endowment for "three professors of the English language and European arts and sciences........to be designated the Elphinstone Professorships." In 1830 the subscriptions amounted to Rs. 2,15,100 and the Court of Directors authorised the grant of an equal amount either as a sum of money or an annual allowance. The final proposal to which this sanction appears to apply was to institute two professorships—one of "mathematics, astronomy and all branches of natural philosophy at Rs. 800 per mensem, who might have charge of the observatory and reside rent free in the

house which was erected at Bombay for the astronomer; and only one other professor or teacher on a salary of Rs. 600 per mensem who would be expected to possess a complete knowledge of the practical application of the sciences of architecture, hydraulics, mechanics, etc., etc." [303/469.]

Sir Edward West Scholarships.—In 1828 a sum of Rs. 11,400 was subscribed as an endowment for certain scholarships and prizes to be called 'Sir Edward West scholarships and prizes.' [304/469.]

The Hindu College at Poona was established in 1821 by Government at an annual cost of Rs. 15,250. The college was designed to contain 100 students and the subjects to be taught were divinity, medicine, metaphysics, mathematics and astronomy, law, 'logic, belles-lettres, rhetoric and grammar.' Part of Dr. J Taylor's library appears to have been handed over to the college. In 1825 arrangements were made for the teaching of English. In 1828 an application for permission to give money prizes caused some discussion in the Bombay Council. Eventually Rs. 1,520 was distributed. [247, 308/431, 472.]

The Dhuksna.—"The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his Report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa, submitted to the Governor-General in Council in 1819, stated, that in the Peishwa's time, an annual distribution of charity, called the Dhuksna, took place, which cost five lakhs of rupees; that 'the original plan was to give prizes to learned Brahmins, but that as a handsome sum was given to every claimant, however ignorant, to pay his expenses, the institution degenerated into a mere giving of alms.' The practice was therefore abolished, the sum of five lakhs of rupees being considered 'too enormous to waste;' but the abolition appearing to be extremely unpopular, Mr. Elphinstone obtained the sanction of the Bengal Government to the appropriation of a sum not exceeding two lakhs of rupees to this object, and re-established that which appeared to have been the original Dhuksna, amounting to Rs. 50,000, and proposed that it should be still kept up but that 'most of the prizes, instead of being conferred on proficients in Hindoo divinity, should be allotted to those who were most skilled in the more useful branches of learning, law, mathematics, etc., and that a certain number of professors might be appointed to teach those sciences.' The arrangement and appropriation of the Dhuksna was committed to Mr. Chaplin, the commissioner in the Deccan." [247/431.]

The Native School Society of Southern Konkan was formed in 1823. In 1824 a grant of Rs. 500 per annum was given by Government. The report of 1824 shows 4 schools with 6 teachers and 238 pupils. The average cost per pupil in the Mahratta schools is Rs. 3; in the English school it is Rs. 25. In the English school half the cost is borne by the pupils. "Further proceedings of the society have been held in correspondence with the Native Education Society." [246, 309/430, 473.]

General.

Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay.—This Society was formed in 1825 with donations amounting to some Rs. 40,000. The Court of Directors authorized a grant of Rs. 500 per mensem. The schools established, which were conducted on Bell's system, were the Central School, Bombay, with 180 scholars, four native schools at Bombay with 217 scholars; one at Surat with 25; one at Tamrah with 29; one at Broach with 30 scholars. In 1825 the number of scholars had decreased. [229/418.]

Native School Book and School Society.—This Society was formed in 1823 for the purpose of promoting education among the natives. The Society adheres "to the principles and rules on which education is conducted by the natives themselves; and in consonance with those principles, the society adopted the Lancasterian plan." In 1823 a grant of Rs. 1,060 per mensem was sanctioned by Government who also gave the Society a lithographic press. In 1824-5 some Rs. 3,500 was subscribed by native gentlemen for buildings. Dr. John Taylor's valuable library was handed over to the Society by Government.

In 1824 a special Committee of the Society was appointed to examine the system of education prevailing among the natives. This Committee reported that the chief wants were books, 'an easy and efficacious method of imparting instruction,' teachers, funds. They recommended a series of publications, and after a comparison with 'the Malabar system of tuition,' the adoption of the plans of Lancaster and Bell, and the training of teachers at Bombay.

Considerable discussion among the members of Council followed and Mr. Warden wrote a minute on the Committee's recommendations. The collectors were called upon for information and returns from seven districts were recorded in 1825.

District.	Villages.	Villages with schools.	Schools.	Scholars.	Teachers' fees, etc.
Ahmedabad . .	928	49	84*	2,651	Occasional fees and food.
Southern Konkan .	2,240	65	86	1,500	About Rs. 4 per mensem and food.
Kaira District . .	579	...	139	...	Food and money presents on special occasions, *e.g.*, Rs. 5 when the pupil leaves.
Kaira Sudder Station	...	...	2	230	
Northern Konkan .	...	...	9	780	Various allowanc from parents.

* 21 in Ahmedabad and 63 in villages

District.	Villages.	Villages with schools.	Schools.	Scholars.	Teachers' fees, etc.
Surat Zillah . .	655	21 to each 100 villages.	139	3,000	Food, cash, land.
Surat Town . .	68 and 74 other teachers	3,046	...	...	About Rs. 60 per annum in grain and money.
Broach Zillah . .	396	...	98	...	Fixed allowances, or grain and money at certain stages of proficiency.
Broach Town . .	...	...	16	373	Grain, small monthly fee and proficiency fees.
Kandesh . .	2,738	68	189	2,022	The average for each school is not more than Rs. 36 per annum.
Poona City . .	...	...	222	...	
Poona District .	880	...	149	2,445	Rs. 3 to 6 per annum for each scholar.
Ahmadnagar . .	5,635	...	161	...	Average Rs. 3 per mensem for each master.
Dharwar . .	1,441	...	150	2,351	Average pay about Rs. 4 per mensem for each master.

The returns are accompanied by a report from Mr. Secretary Farish,* who suggests the expediency of adopting the native method of payment, including the daily present of grain, and advocates the training of teachers as the first step. (Details of schemes by Major Robertson, Mr. Williams and Lieutenant Jervis are given.)

The Government in a communication to the Directors state "that education is in a low state throughout the country; that the instruction imparted in schools extends, with very limited exceptions, only to such an elementary acquaintance with writing and arithmetic as is absolutely necessary for the business of a shopkeeper or tullatee; that but a small proportion of the people acquire even this knowledge; and that the aid of Government, in providing or assisting in the remuneration of school masters, is essential to any advancement of learning." [231-245/419-430.]

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* See chapter IV above, p 49.

Miscellaneous.

American Missionaries.—In 1826 certain plots of gound were granted to the American missionaries. [315/477.]

Regimental schools.—In 1826 an increase in the pay of schoolmasters from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per mensem was sanctioned. [315/477.]

Lithography.—Between 1822 and 1830 a number of lithographic presses were sent out to Bombay and in 1827 the Native School Book and School Society was directed to use the Government lithographic press 'on all occasions when lithography might be required.' [315/476.]

Despatches.

*Despatch of 16th April 1828**.—This refers to the reports of the collectors and judges. [316/477.]

Despatch of 18th February 1829†.—Approves the establishment of training school at Bombay; asks for reports from districts; expresses satisfaction regarding the Engineering Institution; approves Mr. Elphinstone's views; directs a reconsideration of the proposal to appoint superintendents (Inspectors); requires further information relative to Captain Sutherland's plan. [316/477.]

Despatch of 29th September 1830‡.—Approves generally proposals regarding the Engineering Institution, the medical school, the Elphinstone Professorships, the Poona college and native teachers. [316/477.]

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* Printed in *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 28 [388/527].
† Printed in *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 30 [391/529].
‡ Printed in *Evidence of 1832, App. I*, No. 34 [408/541].

APPENDIX B.

List of Documents quoted in this Volume, in Chronological Order.

Description of documents.	References to previous publication.	Reference to present volume.
		PAGE.
Minute by Warren Hastings, dated the 17th April 1781.	*Bengal Past and Present*, viii, 1914, p. 105 f.	7
Despatch to Madras dated 16th February 1787.		3
Letter, dated 1st January 1792 from J. Duncan, Esq., Resident at Benares, to the Governor-General.	(1) *Bengal Past and Present*, viii, 1914, pp. 130-133. (2) *Sketch of the rise and progress of the Benares Patshalla or Sanskrit College*, by G. NICHOLLS.	10
Letter, dated 13th January 1792, from the Governor in Council to the Resident at Benares.	(1) *Bengal Past and Present*, viii, 1914, pp. 130-133. (2) *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, by G. NICHOLLS.	12
Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, etc., by C. Grant, dated 16th August 1797.	Printed in the *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832, App. I, pp. 82-87.*	81
Minute, dated 1st January 1804, by Mr. Brooke (on the Sanskrit College, Benares).	*Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala of Sanskrit College, etc.*, by G. NICHOLLS, pp. 9-13.	33
Despatch, dated 7th September 1808, to Bengal. (On the treatment of Missionary enterprise.)	J. W. KAYE. *Christianity in India: an historical narrative*, p. 615 f.	4
Minute by Lord Minto, dated 6th March 1811.	(1) *Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 3 [325/484]. (2) *Calcutta Review*, iii, 1845, p. 255 f.	19

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Description of documents.	References to previous publication or record.	Reference to present volume.
		PAGE.
Charter — 53 Georgii 3, Cap. 155, sec. 43—1813, 6th September.	*Collection of Statutes relating to India*, Vol. i, p. 116.	22
Despatch to Bengal, dated the 3rd June 1814.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 5 [329/486].	22
Minute, dated the 2nd October 1815, by Lord Moira.		24
Resolution, dated the 21st August 1821 .		79
Letter, dated 5th July 1822, from the Bengal Government to Sir D. Ochterlony.	*Pol. progs. 5 June 1829*, No. 2 (Vol. 5, June 1829, Pt. i).	6
Note, dated 17th July 1823, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie.		57
Resolution, dated the 17th July 1823, appointing a General Committee of Public Instruction.	(1) *Bengal Past and Present*, viii, 1914, p. 93. (2) in part in *Howell's Education in India prior to 1854, etc.*, pp. 13-14.	53
Letter, dated 31st July 1823, appointing members of the General Committee.	*Pol. progs. 5 June 1829*, No. 2 (Vol. 5, June 1829, Pt. i).	54
Letter, dated 17th August 1823, from Mr. A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary.	(1) *Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 15 [351/501]. (2) *Madras Selections*, 1855, p. xiii f.	65
Letter, dated September 1823, from the General Committee to local Agents.	*Pol. progs. 5 June 1829*, No. 2 (Vol. 5, June 1829, Pt. i).	69
Letter, dated 25th September 1823, from W. Fraser, to the Chief Secretary, Fort William.	*Pol. progs. 5 June 1829*, No. 83 . .	13
Accounts of the Calcutta Madrassa, 3rd October 1823.	,, ,, ,, ,, No. 82 . .	36
Letter, dated 6th October 1823, from the General Committee.	*Pol. progs. 5 June 1829*, No. 2 (Vol. 5, June 1829, Pt. i).	86

List of Documents quoted in this Volume, in Chronological Order—*contd.*

Description of documents.	References to previous publication or record.	Reference to present volume.
		PAGE.
Letter, dated 29th November 1823, from the General Committee to Government.	Pol. progs. 5 June 1829, No. 83 . .	98
Address, dated 11th December 1823, from Raja Rammohan Roy.	(1) G. TREVELYAN. *Education of the people of India*, pp. 65-71. (2) C. H. CAMERON. *An Address to Parliament on the duties of Great Britain in India*, etc., pp. 83-87.	
Minute, dated 13th December 1823, by Mount-Stuart Elphinstone.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 22 [365/511].	
Resolution of 17th January 1824 (on the allotment of funds).	Pol. progs. 5 June 1829, No. 83 . .	71
Despatch to Bengal, dated 18th February 1824.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 6 [331/488].	91, 149
Letter, dated 18th August 1824, from the General Committee to the Governor-General.	*Sixth Report on Indian Territories*, p. 18f.	93
Letter, dated 15th October 1824, from the General Committee to Government.	Pol. progs. 5 June 1829, No. 83 . .	78
Despatch, dated 9th March 1825, to Bengal.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 7 [332/488].	50
Minute, dated 10th March 1826, by Sir T. Munro.	(1) *Evidence of 1832*. App. I, No. 18 [358/506]. (2) *Madras Selections*, ii, 1855, p. xx.	73
Despatch to Bengal, dated 5th September 1827.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 8 [333/489].	52, 192
Despatch to Madras, dated 16th April 1828.	(1) *Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 19 [360/538]. (2) *Madras Selections*, ii, 1855, XXIII.	51
Despatch to Bombay, dated 16th April 1828.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 28 [388/527].	201
Minute of 1828 by Sir J. Malcolm . .	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 26[385/525].	144

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		PAGE.
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Despatch to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830.	(1) *Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 11 [339/493].	51, 171, 193
	(2) *Madras Selections* ii, 1855, p. xxvi.	
Despatch to Madras, dated 29th September 1830.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 21 [364/510].	166, 178
Despatch to Bombay, dated 29th September 1830.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 34 [408/541].	201
Minute, dated 30th November 1830, by Sir J. Malcolm.	*Evidence of 1835*, App. I, No. 35 [411/543].	177
An account of expenditure on education from 1813 to 1830.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 2 [325/483]	29
Despatch to Bengal, dated 24th August 1831.	*Evidence of 1832*, App. I, No. 12 [346/498].	193
Extract from Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832.	Printed by order of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, January 1833, pp. 28-30.	38
Minute, dated 9th July 1834, by H. T. Prinsep.	Public progs. 7 March 1835, No. 10 (Vol. Feb.-Mar. 1835).	103
Letters, dated the 21st and 22nd January 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction to Government.	Public progs. 7 March, 1835, No. 7 .	104, 105
Report, dated 31st January 1835, on the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.	,, ,, ,, No. 10 .	39
Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, dated the 2nd February 1835.	(1) C. H. CAMERON. *An address to Parliament, etc., 1852*, pp. 64-80.	107
	(2) A. J. ARBUTHNOT. *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*, etc., ii, 1855, pp. lxxiv-lxxxiii.	
	(3) H. WOODROW. *Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India, etc., 1862.*	

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	(5) S. SATTHIANADHAN. *History of Education in Madras*, pp. l-x.	
	(6) G. O. TREVELYAN. *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, pp. 290-292 (in part only).	
Note by H. T. Prinsep, dated 15th February 1835, with marginal notes by Macaulay.	K. W. to No. 19, 7 March 1835 . .	117
Resolution by Lord Bentinck, dated the 7th March 1835.	(1) ARBUTHNOT'S *Madras Selections*, ii, 1855, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.	130
	(2) C. H. CAMERON. *Address to Parliament*, pp. 81-82.	
Extracts from the diary of H. T. Prinsep .		132
Propositions adopted by the General Committee on the 11th April 1835.	Public progs. 3 June 1835, No. 6 .	142
Letter, dated the 20th April 1835, from the General Committee of Public Instruction.	,, ,, ,, .	139
Minute, dated 20th May 1835, by H. T. Prinsep.	,, ,, No. 8	134
Petition of students of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, dated 9th August 1836.	Public progs. 24 Aug. 1836, No. 18 .	145
Minute by Lord Auckland, dated the 24th August 1836.	,, ,, No 20 .	147
Note, dated 24th November 1839, by J. R. Colvin.	Report of the General Committee, 1839-40, pp. xliii-civ.	170
Minute by Lord Auckland, dated 24th November 1839.	(1) A. DUFF. *Letters addressed to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education*, pp. xi-xxviii. (2) Report of the General Committee, 1839-40, pp. i-xlii.	147
Minute, dated 12th December 1839, by Lord Elphinstone.	*Madras Selections*, ii, 1855, cxxii.	52

APPENDIX C.

Leading Events in India and Europe.

Year.	Governors General of Fort William.	Main events relating to India.	Main educational events in India.	Progress in England, etc.	Year.
1774	Warren Hastings .	Death of Clive. The Rohilla War.	..	..	1774
1775	..	Benares annexed. Trial of Nuncomar.	..	Priestly's Experiments and observations. Jane Austin born.	1775
1776	..	..	..	Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. Gibbon's Decline and fall of the Roman Empire (Vol. I). America declares independence.	1776
1777	..	..	..	..	1777
1778	..	..	..	Byron born. Wordsworth and Coleridge's Lyrical Ballads. Death of Voltaire.	1778
1779	..	First Maratha war .	..	Balzac born. Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets.	1779
1780	..	Hyder Ali overruns the Carnatic.	Zoffany in Calcutta .	Lessing's Education of the Human Race.	1780
1781	..	Negapatam capitulated. Haidar defeated by Sir Eyre Coote. Treaty with Marathas.	Calcutta Madrassa founded by Warren Hastings.	Rousseau's Confessions. Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. Pestalozzi's Leonard and Gertrude.	1781
1782	..	Death of Haider . .	..	Cowper's Poems	1782
1783	..	Fox's India Bill . .	..	Peace with France. . . .	1783
1784	..	Peace with Tippu. Pitt's second India Bill passed.	Asiatic Society of Bengal founded by Sir W. Jones.	Samuel Johnson dies . . .	1784
1785	Sir J. Macpherson .	Warren Hastings resigns	..	..	1785
1786	Earl Cornwallis . .	Impeachment of Warren Hastings.	..	Burn's Poems	1786
1787	..	..	..	..	1787

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Leading Events in India and Europe—*contd.*

Year.	Governors General of Fort William.	Main events relating to India.	Main educational events in India.	Progress in England, etc.	Year.
1788	..	..	..	The Times newspaper founded .	1788
1789	..	..	Calcutta Free School Society.	The French Revolution begins. Fall of the Bastille.	1789
1790	..	War reopened with Tippu	..	Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.	1790
1791	..	..	Benares Sanskrit College opened.	Paine's The Rights of Man. Boswell's Life of Johnson. Mozart dies.	1791
1792	..	..	..	War with France. Shelley born .	1792
1793	Sir John Shore . .	Permanent revenue settlement in Bengal.	..	Execution of Louis XVI. French Assembly decides on free and compulsory education.	1793
1794	..	..	..	Gibbon dies. École Normale and École Polytechnique founded at Paris.	1794
1795	..	..	Free School, Calcutta .	J. Hutton's The Theory of the Earth. Goethe's Wilhelm Meister. Carlyle born. Keats born.	1795
1796	..	Ceylon annexed by England.	..	Laplace's Exposition du système du monde. Jenner inoculates with compox.	1796
1797	..	..	..	Wordsworth's Excursion. Hadyn's Creation. Bell publishes a report on his method of teaching.	1797
1798	Earl Mornington (Wellesley).	Second Maratha war .	..	Practical Education by the Edgeworths. Battle of Nile. Lancaster begins to teach on the monitor system.	1798
1799	..	Partition treaty with Mysore. Storm of Seringapatam and death of Tipu. Carnatic taken under protection.	Drs. Carey and Marsham at Serampore.	Laplace's Mécanique Céleste. Mungo Park's Travels in Africa. Death of Washington.	1799
1800	..	Nizam's dominions taken under protection.	Fort William College opened.	Mechanics Institutes. Union of Great Britain and Ireland.	1800

1801	..	..	..	Pestalozzi's How Gertrude educates her Children. Peace of Amiens. Gauss's Disquisitiones Arithmeticae.	1801
1802	..	Treaty of Bassein with Peshwa. Sindhia and Bhonsla join Holkar against British.	..	Edinburgh Review. Victor Hugo born.	1802
1803	..	Battles of Assaye and Laswari. Capture of Delhi.	..	Lancaster's Improvements in Education. The first engine to draw carriages is constructed.	1803
1804	..	Treaty of Poona. Holkar defeats English force under Monson.	..	Bonaparte becomes Emperor . .	1804
1805	Marquis of CORNWALLIS Sir George Barlow.	..	..	Battle of Trafalgar . . .	1805
1806	..	Ranjit Singh makes a treaty with the English.	Celebrooke's Essays on the Vedas.	Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel .	1806
1807	Lord MINTO . . .	..	..	Gas first used for lighting part of London. Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare. Herbart introduces psychology into the theory of education. Slave trade forbidden in British dominions.	1807
1808	..	..	..	Peninsular war begins. Dalton's new system of chemical philosophy. Scott's Marmion. Gœthe's Faust. The Royal Lancastrian Institution, afterwards the British and Foreign School Society, is formed.	1808
1809	..	Treaty with Ranjit Singh	..	Quarterly Review. Tennyson born. Charles Darwin born.	1809
1810	..	..	..	Berlin University founded . .	1810
1811	..	Lord Minto takes Java .	..	Foundation of the National Society for the education of the Poor. Thackeray born.	1811
1812	..	Pindaris come into prominence.	Sunday School at the Mount, Madras.	Byron's Childe Harold. R. Browning born. Dickens born.	1812

Leading Events in India and Europe—*contd.*

Year.	Governors General of Fort William.	Main events relating to India.	Main educational events in India.	Progress in England, etc.	Year.
1813	Earl of Moira . .	East India Company's charter. Trade with India is opened to all.	First educational grant of £10,000 a year.	Anglo-American War. Defeat of Napoleon at Leipsic. Herbart's Introduction to Philosophy.	1813
1814	..	Nepal War . . .	First educational despatch from the Court of Directors.	Stephenson's first steam locomotive. Scott's Waverley. Treaty of Paris.	1814
1815	..	..	Society for promoting the education of the Poor, Bombay.	Battle of Waterloo. Schubert's Erlking.	1815
1816	..	Third Maratha war. War with Nepal ends. Java restored to the Dutch.	Vidyala or Anglo-Indian College, Calcutta.	Shelley's Alastor. Scott's The Antiquary, etc., Froebel organises a community at Keilhau in Thuringia.	1816
1817	..	Udaipur and Jodhpur taken under protection.	Calcutta School Book Society.	Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.	1817
1818	..	Treaty of Mandasor makes Holkar dependent.	Jaynarayan School, Benares. Mill's History of British India.	Hallam's Europe during the Middle Ages. Keat's Endymion. University founded at Bonn.	1818
1819	..	..	Calcutta School Society. H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.	Keats' Odes, Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, etc. Byron's Don Juan. First steam boat crosses the Atlantic.	1819
1820	..	..	Bishop's College, Calcutta, Cawnpore Free School.	Lamb's First Essays of Elia. Inquisition finally abolished in Spain.	1820
1821	..	..	Hindu Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Poona College.	J. S. Mill's Political Economy. Greek war of Independence. Hegel's Philosophy of Right. Death of Napoleon.	1821

1822	..	First steam vessel on the Hoogly.	Native Education Society Bombay. Agra College. Colebrooke founds the Royal Asiatic Society.	De Quincey's Confessions of an Opium Eater. Liszt's début as a pianist.	1822
1823	John Adam . . Lord AMHERST.	..	General Committee of Public Instruction appointed. Native School Book and School Society, Bombay.	Lamb's Elia	1823
1824	..	First Burmese war. Rangoon taken.	..	Herbert's Psychology as a Science. Death of Byron.	1824
1825	..	..	Murshedabad College .	First Railway in England. Macaulay's Essay on Milton. University of London founded.	1825
1826	..	Kapurthala receives protection Assam taken.	..	Whateley's Elements of Logic. Bulwer's Pelham. Disraeli's Vivian Grey.	1826
1827	..	..	Elphinstone College, Bombay. Hindu College, Calcutta.	Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge. Hallam's Constitutional History of England. Deaths of Beethoven, Blake, La Place, Pestalozzi.	1827
1828	Lord BENTINCK . .	..	..	War between Russia and Turkey. Carlyle's Essay on Goethe.	1828
1829	..	Suppression of thagi, sati, and female infanticide.	..	Arnold at Rugby. Catholic emancipation. Chopin's début. Rosini's William Tell.	1829
1830	..	Rammohan Roy founds the Brahmo Samaj. Mysore taken under British administration.	General Assembly's (of the Church of Scotland) Institution, Calcutta.	Comte's Cours de philosophie positive. Lyell's Principles of Geology. Reform Bill. King's College, London, founded. French Revolution.	1830
1831	..	..	..	Stanley founds a school system in Ireland. Victor Hugo's Notre Dame.	1831

LEADING EVENTS IN INDIA AND EUROPE—*concld.*

Year.	Governors General of India.	Main events relating to India.	Main educational events in India.	Progress in England, etc.	Year.
1832	..	..	..	Tennyson's Lotus Eaters, etc. Goethe's Faust Part ii. Hegel's Philosophy of Religion.	1832
1833	..	East India Company's charter renewed. A Legal Member is added to the Governor's Council.	Educational grant raised to £100,000 a year.	Abolition of Slavery. Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.	1833
1834	Lord Bentinck first Governor-General of India.	..	General Assembly's Institution, Bombay. St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. Calcutta Medical College.	Marryat's Jacob Faithful and Peter Simple. Balzac's Père Goriot.	1834
1835	Sir Charles Metcalfe .	..	Macaulay's minute .	First Parliamentary vote for education. Browning's Paracelsus.	1835
1836	Lord AUCKLAND . .	Metcalfe censured for his liberal treatment of the Press.	Opening of the Calcutta Public Library.	Froebel starts his first Kindergarten school. Dicken's Pickwick Papers.	1836
1837	..	The Shah of Persia invades Afghanistan.	Act XXIX abolishes Persian as the Court language.	Horace Mann reforms education in Massachusetts. Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences.	1837
1838	..	..	..	Faraday's discovery of the relation between electric and magnetic forces.	1838
1839	..	Surrender of Ghazni .	Lord Auckland's minute	Penny postage established. Faraday's Experimental researches. Committee of Council on Education instituted.	1839

APPENDIX D.

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Hodgson, B. : 156, 158, 160, 215.
Hooghly Imambara : 190.
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Hough, Revd. : 104.
Howell, A. P. : 2, 7, 17, 45, 53, 78, 80, 215.
Hutton's *Mathematics* : 42, 140.
Imambarah, Hooghly : 190.
Inayah : 141.
Inspection : 20, 168.
Irvine, Captain F. : 182.
Jainarain Ghosal : 187, 214.
Jaunpore : 21, 190.
Jervis, Lieut. : 197, 200.
Jones, Sir W. : 207.
Kali Shanker Ghosal : 187, 193.
Kerr, J. : 78, 116.
Kidderpore : 184.
Kiernander, Revd. : 45, 194.
Ladies' School, Calcutta : 185.
Lancasterian plan of instruction : 15, 69, 185, 186, 188, 190, 194, 199.
Larkins, J. P. : 57, 91, 98.
Law : 30, 31, 40, 42, 97, 114, 128, 141, 143.
Length of school life : 66.
Libraries : 21, 168, 182.
Lithography : 201.
Local Agents, letter to : 46, 49, 69.
Logic : 40, 42.
Lumsden, Dr. M. : 36, 55, 182, 192.
Macaulay, T. B. : 17, 102, 130, 133, 137, 138, 139, 142 ; Minute by, 107 *seq.*; criticism thereon 117 *seq.*, 132 ; notes on Prinsep's minute, 117 *seq.*
Mackenzie, Holt : 49, 54, 57, *seq.*, 91, 98, 192.
Macnaghten, W. H. : 106, 129, 134, 135.
Madras : 3, 46, 52, 65 *seq.*, 73 *seq.*, 178-179, 194 *seq.*
Madras School Book Society : 74, 75, 76, 214.
Madras School Society : 195.
Madrassa : Calcutta, 21, 30, 36, 72, 79, 94, 103, 112, 114, 119, 182 ; Chittagong, 188 ; Delhi, 189 ; Hijli, 190.
Mahābhārata : 67, 140.
Mainpuri : 188, 190.
Malabar system of tuition : 199.
Malcolm, Sir J. : 143, 144, 177.
Manu : 1, 12.
Marshman, J. : 4, 45.
Martin, W. B. : 57, 98.
Mass education : 45 *seq.*
Mathematics : 40, 42, 174.
May, R. : 45, 188.
Medical Schools : Bombay, 78, 197 ; Calcutta, 78, 167, 183, 184.
Medicine : 40, 43.

Meerut : 190.
Minutes : by Lord Auckland, 147, 148 ; T. Brooke, 33 ; Warren Hastings, 7 ; T. B. Macaulay, 107 ; Lord Minto, 19 ; Lord Moira, 24 ; Sir T. Munro, 73 ; H. T. Prinsep, 103, 134.
Minto, Lord : 17, 19, 187, 191.
Missionary enterprise : 3, 4-6.
Mission College, Calcutta : 184.
Moira, Lord : 19, 24, 27 46, 47, 48, 77 ; minute by, 24.
Monitors : 66, 67.
Moorshedabad : 190.
Morrison, Col. : 137, 138.
Muiz-ud-Din : 8, 30, 182.
Munro, Sir T. : 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 73, 194, 195 ; minute by, 73.
Nadia : 20, 79, 191 ; proposed college at, 93, 95, 191.
Nagpore : 191.
Native School Book and School Society, Bombay : 199, 201.
Native School Society of South Konkan : 198.
Nicholls, G. : 10, 33, 216.
Nyaya : 42, 101, 191.
Observations on the State of Society, etc. : 16, 81.
Ochterlony, Sir D. : 6.
Oriental books : 114, 135, 140, 141.
Oriental learning : 92, 97, 99, 105, 109, 122, 150, 156, *et passim.*
' Orientalists ' : 30, 77, 109, 117 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*
Packenham, Mr. : 138.
Palamcottah : 194.
Persian as court language : 133.
Petitions of students : 113, 125, 134, 138, 143, 145.
Philosophical apparatus : 79, 89.
Poetry : 68, 92, 97, 109.
Poona College : 178, 198.
Presidency College, Calcutta : 78.
Price, Lieut. : 55, 183.
Prinsep, H. T. : 57, 91, 102, 106, 171 ; diary of, 132 ; minutes by, 103, 134 ; note by, 117.
Prinsep, J. : 106, 178.
Private schools, control of : 56, 62.
Punishments : 66.
Purānas : 67, 174, 175.
Rajshahi : 192.
Rajputana : 186.
Rāmayana : 67.
Ram Mohan Roy, Raja : 6, 80, 98, 183 ; letter from, 98 *seq.*
Rangpur : 192.
Regimental Schools : Bengal, 193 ; Bombay, 201 ; Madras, 196.
Regulation XI of 1826 : 193.
Religious neutrality : 4-6, 25, 115.
Robertson, Major : 200.
Ross, Mr. : 137, 183, 194.
Russia : analogy of, 111, 122.
Ryan, Sir E. : 118, 140, 142, 168.

St. Thomas' Mount : 194.
Sanskrit language and literature : 24, 41, 79, 100, 108, 146, 183, *et passim*.
Sanskrit College, Benares : 12, 20, 27, 31, 33 *seq*., 94, 186.
Sanskrit College, Calcutta : 39, 79, 87, 183.
Sanskrit students, petition of : 113, 125, 145.
Scholarships : 11, 37, 44, 103, 123, 146, 147, 165, 166, 167.
Science : decay of, 19 ; introduction of, 22, 94, 107 ; promotion of, 22, 107, teaching, 80, 85, 86, 88, 105, 132, 142, 197.
Science apparatus : 79, 89.
School Book and School Society, Bombay : 6, 199.
School Book Society, Calcutta : 6, 45, 76, 214.
School Book Society, Madras : 74, 75, 76, 214.
School Society, Calcutta : 45, 153, 185, 214.
School Society, Madras : 196.
Siddhantas : 152, 174, 175.
Sehore : 174.
Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832 : 38, 181.
Serampore : 4, 78.
Shakespeare, H. : 57, 91, 98, 103, 106.
Society for promoting the education of the poor, Bombay : 6, 45, 199.
Statistics : Bengal, 172, 173 ; Bombay, 199, 200 ; Madras, 73, 195.
Stipends : 11, 37, 112, 113, 116, 123, 146, 147, 150, 171.
Stirling, A. : 57, 91, 98.
Sullivan, J. : 3, 4.
Sunday School at the Mount : 194.
Surat : 199, 200.
Surgeemarree, Rungapore : 192.
Sutherland, Captain : 197, 201.
Sutherland, J. C. C. : 40, 57, 91, 98, 104, 142.
Swartz, Revd. : 3, 45, 194.
Sylhet Madrissa : 192.
Tanjore : 4, 45, 194.
Taylor, Dr. J. H. : 188, 189, 198, 199.
Teachers, training of : 49, 50, 51, 74, 179, 195, 199.
Tehsildari schools : 51, 75, 178, 196.
Thomas, F. W. : 1, 216.
Tinnevelly : 194.
Tirhut : 20, 79 ; proposed college at, 191.
Training of teachers : 49, 50, 51, 74, 179, 195.
Trevelyan, G. : 98, 105, 142, 215.
Trichinopoly : 194, 196.
Troyer, A. : 44.
Tytler, Dr. J. : 40, 183.
Ujjain : 175.
Vedanta : 40, 100.
Vernacular as the medium : 121, 156, 162, 164, 175.
Vernacular text-books : 114, 153, 156, 162, 164, 169, 177, 179.
Vidyalya, Calcutta : 78, 171, 183, 192.
Ward, W. : 4.

Warden, F.: 49, 145, 176, 199.
West Scholarships: 169, 198.
Wilberforce: 16, 17, 18.
Wilford Capt.: 34, 35, 36.
Wilkinson, L.: 152, 156, 158, 162, 174, 183.
Williams, Mr.: 200.
Wilson, H. H.: 46, 55, 57, 71, 91, 98, 171, 183, 187.
Woodrow, H.: 102, 217.

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